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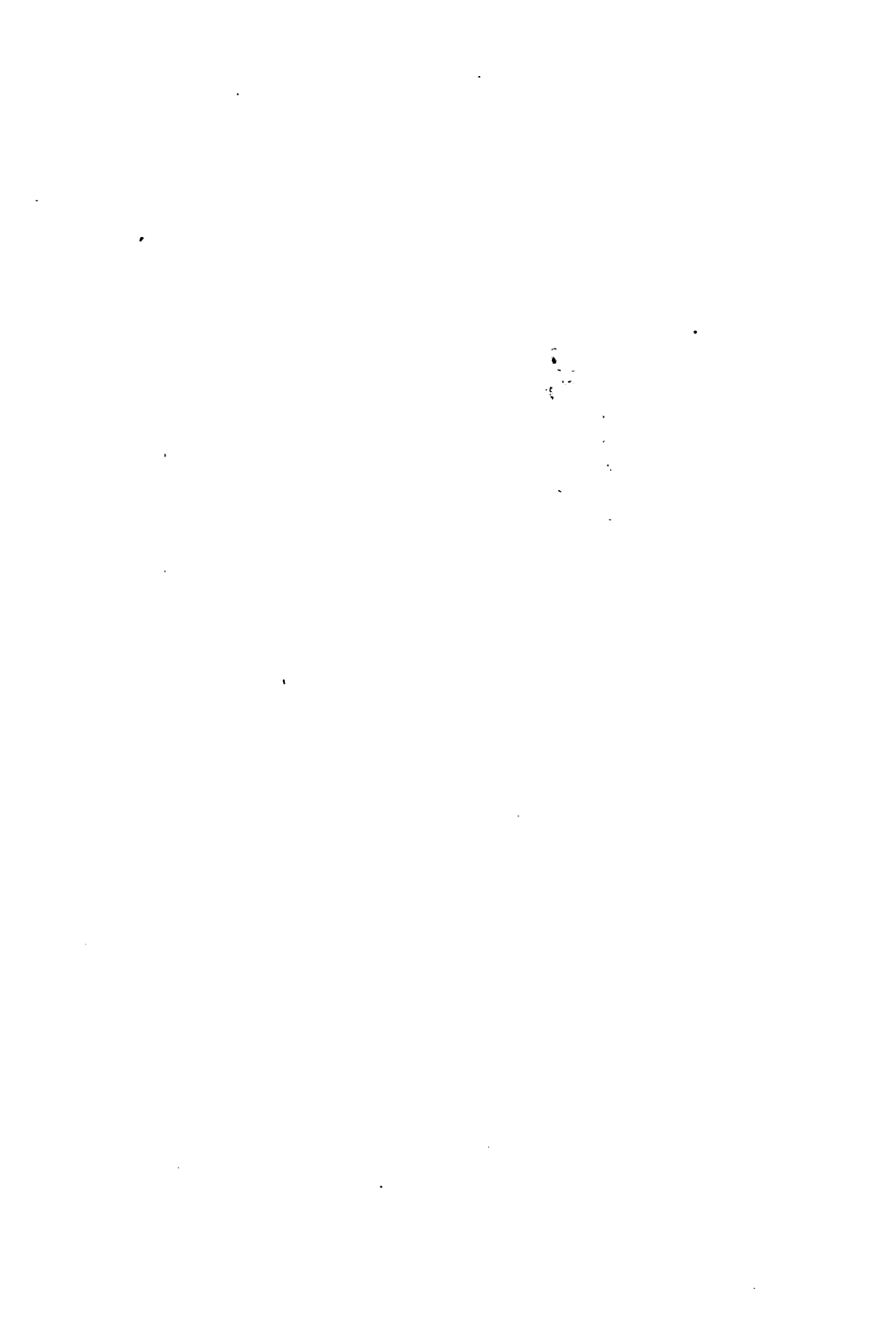


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**A HISTORY OF
THE UNITED STATES**

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SAN FRANCISCO



Press of
C.A. MURDOCK & Co.
SAN FRANCISCO

A HISTORY
of the
UNITED STATES

BY

WILLIAM C. DOUB

EX-SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS FOR KERN COUNTY, CALIFORNIA

AUTHOR OF "GRADED LESSONS IN SPELLING,"

"TEACHERS' MANUAL AND COURSE OF STUDY IN HISTORY AND CIVICS," ETC.

DOUB & COMPANY

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1909

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PREFACE

DURING recent years there has been much written and much said about making the study of history and civics in the elementary schools something more than committing to memory dates, facts and events. Many newspapers and educational journals and many of those educators who talk publicly on school questions have criticised severely the results secured from the time devoted to history and civics in the grammar schools. The method used and the lack of proper preparation on the part of the teacher have been held responsible for the poor results secured in these subjects. It has been customary to hold the teacher responsible for the method used and for her poor preparation, and thus to place the entire blame on her. Many have promptly and justly replied that they cannot be expected to expend from two to three thousand dollars in securing a higher education for the purpose of receiving the small salaries paid in the elementary schools. They have also replied—and this is even more to the point—that not being specialists in history and civics, they cannot, with any degree of success, teach these subjects by the topical method when every grammar school history text-book in print adopts, almost entirely, the cut-and-dried chronological-event method. In relation to all these conditions, special attention is called to the fact that in this book the topical treatment is used without any reserve whatever. No teacher can use this book as a text-book and use any other than the topical method, and no pupil can study this book without becoming interested in the real spirit of our history and having cultivated in him the desire to perform to the best of his ability the duties of American citizenship.

Preface

The use of this volume as a regular text makes a separate study of government and the use of a separate book on government unnecessary. This is due to the full treatment here given to the historical side of government and to governmental machinery. It is deemed best, at least so far as the elementary schools are concerned, to consider history and these phases of government one subject, and to teach them as such. This method will tend to give the pupil some conception of the real nature of government and of his relation to the same. It may be well for the pupil to use as a reader a book on citizenship dealing with such questions as roads, public franchises and public health and sanitation. An enlargement on the treatment given in this volume along these lines will be beneficial as a training for practical citizenship.

Some of the conclusions reached in this volume do not agree with those reached by some who have discussed American history. It may be proper to state in this connection that this volume is based on the sources and that any criticism of the more important conclusions herein reached becomes, therefore, a question as to the correct interpretation of the sources. In connection with this last statement it is but just to say, that if this volume contains anything of unusual merit and interest for the student, for the teacher, or for the general reader, it is due in no small measure to Professor George Elliott Howard. While Dr. Howard had nothing to do in the direct preparation of this volume, it was while a member of his classes at Stanford University that I caught something of his inspiration for candid, logical and devoted research that made the preparation of this work by me possible.

WILLIAM C. DOUB

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

January, 1909

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The revised edition of this history was read twice by Dr. McCormac, Professor of American History in the University of California. Dr. Max Farrand, late of Stanford University, made a number of valuable suggestions. Dr. Eggleston, an able editor, read the revised edition three times—the copy once and the proof twice. Many valuable suggestions were made by those who have used the book during the past four years and to these the author is specially indebted.

INTRODUCTORY

COLUMBUS

Behind him lay the gray Azores,
Behind the Gates of Hercules;
Before him not the ghost of shores,
Before him only shoreless seas.
The good mate said: "Now we must pray,
For, lo! the very stars are gone.
Brave Admiral, speak; what shall I say?"
"Why say, 'Sail on! sail on! and on!'"

"My men grow mutinous day by day;
My men grow ghastly wan and weak."
The stout mate thought of home; a spray
Of salt wave washed his swarthy cheek.
"What shall I say, brave Admiral, say,
If we sight naught but seas at dawn?"
"Why you shall say at break of day,
'Sail on! sail on! sail on! and on!'"

They sailed and sailed, as winds might blow,
Until at last the blanched mate said:
"Why, now not even God would know
Should I and all my men fall dead.
These very winds forget their way,
For God from these dread seas is gone,
Now speak, brave Admiral; speak and say"—
He said, "Sail on! sail on! and on!"

They sailed. They sailed. Then spake the mate:
"This mad sea shows its teeth to-night.
He curls his lips, he lies in wait
With lifted teeth, as if to bite!
Brave Admiral, say but one good word;
What shall we do when hope is gone?"
The words leapt like a leaping sword:
"Sail on! sail on! sail on! and on!"

Then, pale and worn, he kept his deck,
And peered through darkness. Ah, that night
Of all dark nights! And then a speck—
A light! A light! A light! A light!
It grew, a starlit flag unfurled!
It grew to be Time's burst of dawn.
He gained a world; he gave that world
Its grandest lesson: "On! sail on!"

—Joaquin Miller



COLUMBUS IN THE CABIN OF THE
SANTA MARIA

The map shown was made by Toscanelli and presented
by him to Columbus who used it during the voyage

THE TEACHER IS REQUESTED TO
READ CAREFULLY "SUGGESTIONS FOR
TEACHERS" IN THE APPENDIX BEFORE
ASSIGNING A LESSON IN THIS BOOK

INTRODUCTORY

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

- I. Ancient Ideas of the World
- II. False Ideas of the World not Due to Lack of Civilization
- III. Conditions in Ancient Europe Hindering Exploration
- IV. Conditions Leading to Exploration
 - 1. Advance in Education and Civilization
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 - 3. Need of New Trade Routes

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- I. Spanish Discoveries and Explorations
 - 1. Work of Columbus
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DECLINE OF SPANISH POWER

- I. Spain's Early Supremacy on the Sea
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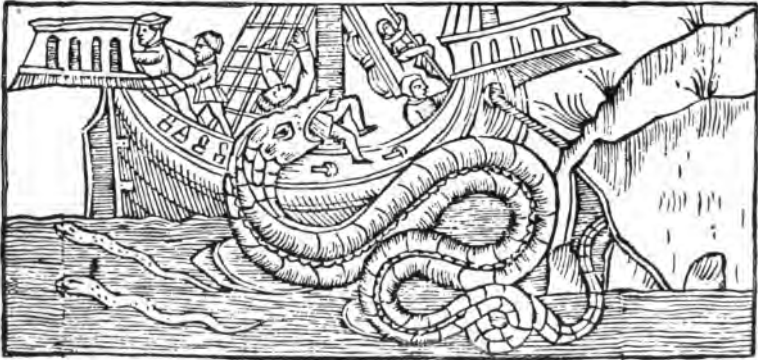
THE AMERICAN INDIAN

- I. Origin of Name
- II. Classification According to Civilization
 - 1. The Savage Indians
 - 2. The Barbarous Indians
 - 3. The Half-civilized Indians
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- IV. Character

INTRODUCTORY

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

1. **Ancient Ideas Concerning the World.**—The map on the next page shows how small a part of the earth the people of Europe knew about before the New World was discovered. The New World has been inhabited by mankind and by the lower animals for many thousands of years, but it was unknown to the people of the Old World until a little more than four hundred years ago. For more than six thousand years the people of Europe believed the earth was flat, and that it was



IN THE SEA OF DARKNESS

Reproduced from an old drawing

covered with water except that part occupied by Europe, Asia and Africa. They had no idea that North America, South America and Australia existed. They did not even know how large Asia and Africa were. Some of them were acquainted with western Asia and northern Africa, but they did not know how far these continents extended. Marco Polo and a few others had visited China and had heard of Japan, but this was all that the people of Europe knew of eastern Asia, and they

knew still less about central and southern Africa. Although great civilized nations had existed on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea for probably more than five thousand years, the people of these nations thought the earth was many times smaller than it is. They believed there was nothing but darkness and terrors beyond the small part they knew about, and that evil spirits and great monsters would destroy any one who ventured into this unknown space.¹



THE WORLD AS KNOWN BEFORE THE TIME OF COLUMBUS

Trade Routes to India

2. False Ideas not Due to Lack of Civilization.—The wrong idea the people of Europe had for so many thousand years regarding the extent of the land and the shape of the earth was not due to a low state of civilization. The people of Greece more than twenty-three hundred years ago, and the people of Rome more than two thousand years ago, were better educated than were the people of Europe four hundred years ago, when Columbus discovered the New World. The civilization

developed by the ancient Greeks and Romans excelled in many ways the civilization of Europe during the time of Columbus. The literature, the sculpture, and the fine, noble buildings produced by them have never been excelled, and in some things along these lines we cannot do so well as was done in ancient Greece and Rome.

3. Conditions Hindering Discoveries and Explorations.—

While the great mass of the people of Europe at the time the New World was discovered were not so intelligent in many respects as were the ancient Greeks and Romans, they lived under conditions that caused them to think more about the extent of



BUILDINGS IN ANCIENT ROME

A part of the Roman Forum as restored by Auer

the land and the shape of the earth, and hence they had a greater desire to find out the truth about these matters. The Greeks and Romans occupied the peninsulas of Greece and Italy, which together are not so large as the state of Texas, and less than one twenty-seventh as large as the rest of Europe. Half-civilized people lived in all the other parts of Europe except those parts conquered by Rome. The Greeks and Romans were kept busy defending themselves against these people, and were finally compelled to submit to them. They had all they could do

to learn about Europe and the other continents around the Mediterranean Sea, without trying to explore the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and they seem to have had no desire to do so. Aristotle, a Greek philosopher who lived twenty-two hundred years ago, believed the earth was round and that eastern Asia could be reached by sailing west from western Europe. Some other philosophers who lived between the time of Aristotle and the discovery of America had the same idea; but the people of Greece and Rome, and later those in the rest of Europe, were too busy with affairs and conditions in the Old World to think seriously about these ideas, or to attempt to put them into practice by sailing west over the Atlantic Ocean.²



RUINS OF ANCIENT GREECE
The Acropolis in the distance

4. Conditions Leading to Explorations: (a) *Advance in Education and Civilization.*—It was quite different a little more than four hundred years ago when the New World was discovered. More people lived in Europe then than ever before, and through natural advancement and the influence of Greek and Roman laws, literature and ideas, all Europe had become civilized. It was but natural, under those conditions, that many of the practical and educated men of Europe, as well as the philosophers, should ask themselves the question,—What

lies beyond the waters? This desire to know more about the size and shape of the earth, together with the improvements in ship-building and the practical use of the compass for the purposes of navigation, would soon have led to the exploration of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and to the discovery of America, even if the condition of commerce, which is discussed below, had not made men desirous of finding some new way by which they could reach the rich products of India and eastern Asia.

(b) *Increasing Importance of Commerce.*—During the time of the Roman Empire, northern Europe was inhabited by the Germanic tribes, who were then barbarians. From about 260 A. D. to about 600 A. D., these barbarians overran the Roman Empire. While Greece and Rome before this time had traded a great deal with Asia, the invasions from the north gave civilization a setback and destroyed this commerce. It was not until about seven hundred years ago that the people of Europe again became settled in well-organized governments. They gradually became civilized and educated and better acquainted with Asia and its products. The merchants of Europe began to trade the woods, metals and other things produced there for the spices, pearls, silks, gems and other products of Asia. By 1400 A. D. this trade had increased until it constituted a great commerce or interchange of products between the peoples of Europe and Asia. Great commercial cities grew up whose prosperity depended largely on this commerce. Venice and Genoa were two of the most important of these cities, and their merchants carried on an immense trade with Asia. From the commercial cities on the coast the rich products of Asia were sent inland to the different parts of Europe, and naturally there was an increasing demand for these comforts and luxuries.³

(c) *Need of New Trade Routes.*—The goods that Europe sent to Asia and that Asia sent to Europe had to be carried by ships and by caravans over one of three routes. As will be seen from an examination of the map on page seven, these routes were by way of the Black and Caspian seas, and thence overland to India; across Syria to the Persian Gulf, and thence by ship to India; and by way of Egypt to the Red Sea, and thence by ship to India. Now it so happened that the Turks, during the

time this trade between Europe and Asia was increasing, were gradually overrunning the western part of Asia, which included territory over which these trade routes passed. The Turks made a regular business of capturing the caravans conveying these goods and of murdering those in charge. In 1453 they captured Constantinople, and by 1490 they had almost destroyed this great commerce. It became necessary, therefore, for the people of Europe to give up this trade, or to find some new route over which the goods might be conveyed. This caused merchants and sailors to give serious consideration to the question of finding a new route. Some maintained that, if the earth were round, eastern Asia could be reached by sailing west from Europe. One of these was Christopher Columbus. Other men had philosophized about the earth's being round, but Columbus



MEDITERRANEAN MERCHANT VESSEL OF THE
TIME OF COLUMBUS

was the first to test the correctness of this theory. On the third day of August, 1492, with three small ships and ninety men, he set sail from Palos, Spain, bidding good-by to the known world, sailing out into the unknown seas, and facing the terrors that superstition had for ages planted in the mind of man. It was an act as brave as history records. The trackless ocean was his highway; faith in a scientific theory his guiding star.⁴

DISCOVERIES AND EXPLORATIONS*

5. Spanish Discoveries and Explorations: (a) *Work of Columbus.*—On the evening of October 11, seventy days after leaving Palos, Columbus came in sight of one of the West India Islands, a member of the Bahama group. Before returning to Spain he discovered Cuba and Hayti. Although he made three other voyages to the New World, discovering the mainland of South America and exploring the coast of Honduras, he believed



THE FLEET OF COLUMBUS

he had discovered Asia, and was very much surprised and disappointed because he could not find the rich cities and products of that country. He died without knowing that he had discovered a new world; and if he had known this fact, he would, perhaps, have been still more disappointed. His heart was set on finding a short and safe route to the rich commerce of India,

and the people of Europe, sorely disappointed because he was not successful, permitted him to die poor, neglected and heart-broken. Like that of many other great men, his work was appreciated only by succeeding generations.

The discovery of America ranks as the greatest geographical discovery in history, because it opened up a new world; and the world has given Columbus the credit. It is true that some of the hardy, daring and adventurous sailors of Norway, Sweden and Denmark—called the Norse or Northmen—visited the north-eastern shores of America about nine hundred years ago. They had settlements in Iceland and Greenland, and would occasion-

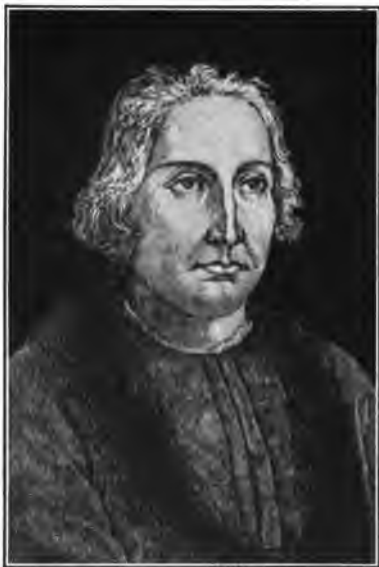


NORTHMEN OFF THE NEW ENGLAND COAST

ally cross Davis Strait to the mainland of North America, which they considered a part of Europe. There is no evidence that they ever made a settlement on this continent. Their visits to the mainland soon ceased, and the land and the early voyages were forgotten by the sailors. About one hundred years later the Norse scholars reduced the story of these voyages to writing, but even these writings were forgotten, and the rest of Europe

did not hear of the Norse voyages until after Columbus had discovered the New World; so they had no influence in leading up to the real discovery of America, nor did they affect the later history of this continent. In no way can they deprive Columbus of his hard-earned fame as the world's greatest discoverer.

(b) *Other Spanish Explorers.*—The Spanish discovered and explored most of the West Indian Islands, Florida, the southwestern part of the United States, Mexico, Central America, and all of South America except Brazil. The principal ex-



COLUMBUS

After a painting in the Ministry of Marine
at Madrid

plorers for Spain whose work had any direct relation to the United States, or to determining the extent and shape of the earth, were Columbus, Ponce de Leon, Balboa, Magellan and De Soto.

Ponce de Leon was perhaps the first Spaniard to touch the mainland of what is now the United States. He was in the Bahamas and heard of a land to the northward, rich in gold and with a wonderful spring that would make an old man young again. He determined to explore the country about which he had heard such wonderful stories. Soon after setting sail the Spanish came in sight of the coast, and as the

day was Easter Sunday, Ponce de Leon called the new land Florida. He explored the country and a few years later returned with a number of men, intending to settle there. The hostile Indians and sickness among his men caused him to return to Cuba, where he soon died of a wound received on this expedition.

Balboa, another Spanish explorer, went with the Spanish expeditions to Panama. He had trouble with his commander and soon became the leader of a small band of adventurers in

search of gold. One day while he was weighing some gold an Indian chief struck the scales from his hand and made known to him that beyond the mountains was a great sea, the shores of which were rich in gold. Balboa immediately set out with his men, and on reaching the top of the mountains saw stretching out before him a boundless sheet of water. He descended, and wading out into the ocean took possession of it in the name of the king of Spain. He called it the South Sea.

Magellan passed around South America and crossed the Pacific to India, giving the vast ocean over which he sailed its name. One of his five ships returned to Spain around South Africa. It was the first ship to sail around the world; but its brave and able commander, Magellan, was killed by savages in the Philippine Islands. Magellan accomplished what Columbus had failed to do—he discovered a sea route to India. But the distance was so great that it was of little value to commerce, and a shorter route to India by water had been discovered twenty-three years before by Vasco da Gama, an explorer for Portugal, who made a voyage to India (1497-1499) by way of the Cape of Good Hope.



MAGELLAN

Some time after Ponce de Leon had discovered Florida, De Soto with over five hundred men landed in Florida and started inland in search of gold. They discovered the Mississippi River and explored a portion of the southern part of the Mississippi Valley. At length, worn out by toils and hardships, De Soto died on the banks of the great river. At night, in great secrecy, his body was sunk in its waters. This was to keep the Indians from learning of his death and securing his body. For the time of all these discoveries and explorations, see page 29.

6. English Discoveries and Explorations.—The English discovered and explored the eastern part of North America from Florida to Canada. The principal explorers for England were the Cabots, Drake, Gilbert and Raleigh.

Five years after Columbus discovered America, John Cabot, an Italian sailing an English ship, sailed across the Atlantic. He explored the eastern coast of North America from Labrador

south to Cape Cod, and possibly farther. Not much is known of this voyage. About eighty years later Sir Francis Drake began his explorations. He was the first Englishman to sail around the world. He had received permission from Queen Elizabeth to attack Spanish merchant ships, and sailed for the South Pacific. He plundered towns in Chili and Peru, and captured treasure ships. From one ship he took over twenty tons of silver and eighty pounds of gold. Fearing that Spanish war ships



DE SOTO'S DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

were waiting for him in the Straits of Magellan, he decided to return home by going around the Cape of Good Hope. He first sailed up along the coast of North America probably as far as Alaska, and then across the Pacific and around Africa to England.

Gilbert was the first Englishman to attempt to make a settlement in the New World. A glance at a map will show that a

ship sailing directly west from England will reach Labrador or Newfoundland. This part of North America, although no farther north, is much colder than England, because the Gulf Stream makes England's climate milder. But Gilbert did not know this when he sailed for the New World and attempted to found a colony in Newfoundland. The attempt was a failure, and the next year Sir Walter Raleigh was given permission to found a colony. He was wise enough to send out an exploring expedition. This expedition reported the region that is now North Carolina to be the best suited for settlement. Several attempts were made, but all proved failures. One little colony was entirely lost, and no one ever knew what happened to it. All these discoveries and explorations were made between 1497 and 1589 (see page 29).



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

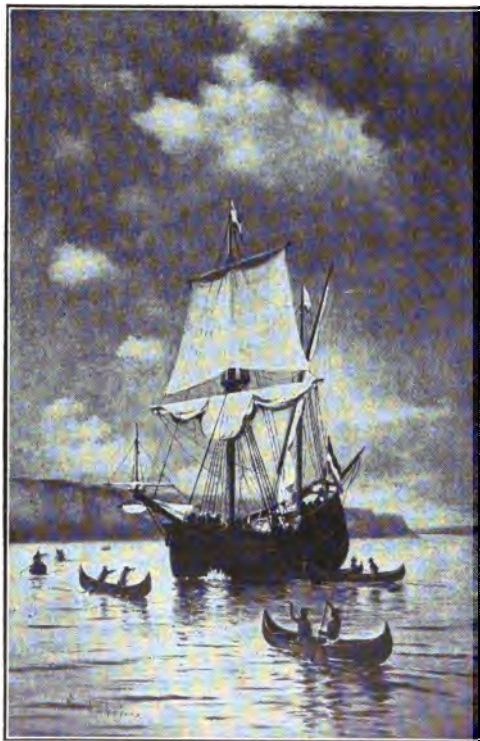
After an engraving in a book (Holland's *Heroologia*)
published in 1620

7. French Discoveries and Explorations. — The French

explored the larger part of the Mississippi Valley and the eastern part of Canada, including the region of the Great Lakes. The principal French explorers were Cartier, Champlain, Marquette, Joliet and La Salle.

Cartier explored the St. Lawrence and the adjoining country as far south as Montreal. When he first entered the Gulf of

St. Lawrence he thought he had at last found a water passage through the continent that barred the way to India. On sailing farther inland on a later voyage he learned that it was the mouth of a river. The next important French explorations were made by Champlain, a man of great ability and one of the greatest French explorers. He explored the coast as far south as Cape Cod. Later he founded Quebec and discovered Lake Champlain and Lake Huron.



HUDSON'S VESSEL, THE *Half Moon*, IN THE HUDSON RIVER

The French were very active in their explorations. Joliet and Marquette pushed westward to the headwaters of the Mississippi and explored as far south as the Arkansas River. A year later La Salle completed the exploration of the Mississippi. He explored also the Ohio River, and Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron and Michigan. He took possession, in the name of France, of all the country drained by the Mississippi and the Ohio and their tributaries, and named it Louisiana. In order to

secure permanent possession of the country

for France, La Salle attempted to establish a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, but while on his way to Canada to secure supplies for his colonists he was murdered by one of his own men, and the colony he had planted soon ceased to exist. For the time of all these discoveries and explorations, see page 29.

8. Portuguese Discoveries and Explorations.—Americus Vesputius in 1501, while in the employ of the king of Portugal, explored the coast of Brazil. This voyage was quite important in addition to being some of the basis of Portugal's claim to Brazil. Until this time the people of Europe believed the New World to be a part of Asia. They now saw that the land discovered and explored by Americus Vesputius was a new continent, as they knew that Asia did not extend so far south, and on the suggestion made by a German professor in 1507 it was called America, in honor of its discoverer as he supposed. When it became known that North America was not a part of Asia but another new continent, the name America was applied to both the great continents of the New World, and the prefixes "North" and "South" were added to distinguish the one from the other.

9. Dutch Discoveries and Explorations.—In 1609 Henry Hudson discovered and explored the Hudson River as far up as Albany. Hudson



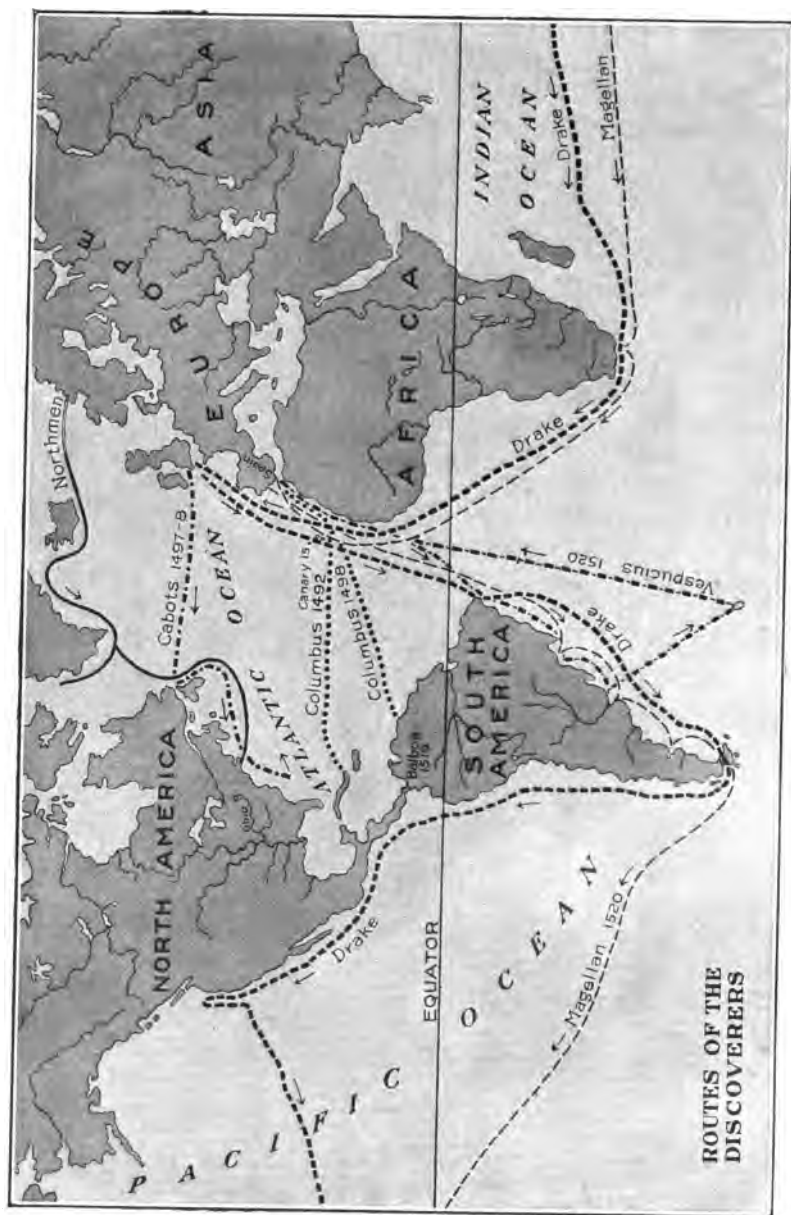
LA SALLE

From a photograph of the original painting

was an English sailor, but was in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, and Holland's claim to New York—then called New Netherland—was based almost entirely on this discovery.

DISPOSITION OF TERRITORY

10. The Right of Discovery.—It was customary for the captain of a ship or the commander of a fleet when he discovered land in the New World to take possession of it in the name of his sovereign. Thus the nations of Europe based their



claims to territory on the "right of discovery." It was on this so-called right that Spain claimed most of the West Indies, all of South America except Brazil, all of Central America, Mexico, Florida, and the southwestern part of the United States; England, the Atlantic coast from Canada to Florida; France, all



the territory drained by the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence and their tributaries; Holland, New York; and Portugal, Brazil.

11. English Territorial Grants.—England granted her territory in North America to companies and individuals, and established some crown colonies, the latter being under the direct control of the sovereign. Many of the grants made by the English sovereigns were described as extending from "sea

to sea," that is, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. As these grants did not always extend due east and west, they frequently overlapped, the same land being included in different grants at the same time. This caused considerable trouble, especially after the colonies had secured their independence from Great Britain.

DECLINE OF SPANISH POWER

12. Spain's Early Supremacy on the Sea.—For more than eighty years after the discovery of America, Spain was the most powerful nation in the world. She was virtually mistress of the seas, having a larger navy than any other nation. This gave her an immense advantage in securing lands and forming settlements in the New World. As long as she was stronger on the seas than any other nation, she could control, to a large extent, the development of America. She had secured far more of this new territory than any other nation, and was obtaining a large amount of gold and silver from Mexico and Peru.⁷

But Spain was soon to lose this proud leadership among the nations of the world. England sent an army to assist Holland in its attempt to regain its independence from Spain. Sir Francis Drake and other bold English sea captains captured the Spanish treasure ships that were on their way from Mexico and Peru. They even sailed into the Spanish harbors and destroyed vessels in sight of the people. Drake called these acts "singeing the king of Spain's beard."

13. Defeat of Spanish Armada.—These acts so enraged the Spanish king, Philip II, that he determined to invade England and annex it to his kingdom. In 1588 he collected a fleet of about one hundred and fifty ships, which carried more than three thousand cannon. This fleet was considered so powerful that it was called the Invincible Armada. It was thought by many military men on the continent of Europe that England would be conquered. The English people were thoroughly aroused, but they were not frightened. They were putting forth every effort to collect a fleet with which to meet the Armada. The English navy contained but thirty-eight ships,

and most of those were small and poorly equipped. But the merchants gave their ships freely for the purpose of defense, and a fleet was soon collected. Lord Howard of Effingham, Drake, Hawkins and other English sea captains were placed in command. No greater sea fighters ever lived. The Spanish commanders did not compare with them in ability. When the Invincible Armada entered the English Channel, the English fleet did not make a direct attack, but hung on its flanks, destroying ship after ship, and in a long running fight drove the Armada through the channel into the North Sea. The defeated



THE ARMADA IN THE ENGLISH CHANNEL

From a print published soon after the Armada was destroyed

Spaniards could not return to Spain through the English Channel, and were forced to sail around the north of Scotland, where storms destroyed so many of their ships that not more than one-third of them finally reached Spain. ♡

14. The Rise of English Sea Power.—This crushing defeat of the Invincible Armada had a most important bearing on the history of the New World. It marked the beginning of Spain's decline on both land and sea. It also marked the beginning of England as a sea power. She soon became mistress of the seas and has since held that position. This meant that England and not Spain should have most to do in shaping the growth of America. From this time on France was England's only serious competitor in colonizing North America.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN

15. Origin of the Name.—When Columbus discovered the New World he was not surprised to find it inhabited, because he thought it a part of Asia. As he believed that the islands he had discovered were a part of the East Indies, he called the people who lived on them, Indians. This name was afterward applied to all the native inhabitants of America. This race of people does not seem to be closely related to any of the other races of mankind. Nothing definite is known about its origin or how long it has lived here. It is certain, however, that the Indians have lived in America for ages, long before Rome was founded.^s



BIRCH-BARK INDIAN WIGWAMS

16. Classification According to Civilization: (a) *The Savage Indians.*—The native inhabitants of America represented three stages of social development,—the savage, the barbarous, and the half-civilized. The savage Indians lived in North America. In what is now United States territory, they occupied Alaska, all the Rocky Mountain region, except a portion of Arizona and New Mexico, and all the territory west of the Rocky Mountains. In Canada they occupied the territory from Hudson Bay west to the Pacific Ocean. They were divided into several tribes, among the most important being the Apache.

(b) *The Barbarous Indians.*—The barbarous Indians also lived in North America. In the United States they occupied

all the country east of the Rocky Mountains, and in Canada all the country south and east of Hudson Bay. The only Indians who had any real influence on the history of the United States occupied the territory between the Mississippi River and the Atlantic Ocean. They are divided into three general races,—Maskoki, Iroquois and Algonquin. Each division or race con-



sisted of a number of tribes, each tribe of a number of clans, and each clan was composed of a number of families. Each race spoke a different language. The Maskoki occupied all of the southern states east of the Mississippi, except a portion of Tennessee and North Carolina. They included a number of tribes, the most important ones being the Creeks, Seminoles,

Choctaws and Chickasaws. The Iroquois race was the strongest one in North America, and it had more influence than any other on the history of the United States. It occupied New York, Pennsylvania, the northeastern part of Ohio, the larger part of North Carolina and Tennessee, and the country between Lakes Huron and Erie. The most important tribes of this race were the Five Nations in New York, the Hurons north of Lake Erie, and the Cherokees of Tennessee. The Algonquin race occupied all the country east of the Mississippi from Tennessee and North Carolina on the south to Labrador on the north, except that part occupied by the Iroquois. Some of the most important



A SIOUX ENCAMPMENT, UPPER MISSISSIPPI

tribes of this race were the Powhatans of Virginia, the Delawares of Delaware, the Mohegans and Narragansetts of New England, the Shawnees of the Ohio Valley, and the Ottawas and Chippewas of the Great Lake region.

(c) *The Half-civilized Indians.*—The half-civilized Indians occupied the mountain region extending from New Mexico in the United States to Chili in South America. Among the most important races or nations were the Pueblos of Arizona and New Mexico, the Aztecs of Mexico, and the Incas of Peru. Of these, the Incas were the most civilized. They built cities and temples, constructed excellent military roads, raised various

products, and made fine cotton and woolen cloth. The potato is a native of Peru, where the Spaniards found it under cultivation. They introduced it into Europe.

17. Appearance and Manner of Living.—In some respects, all the Indians inhabiting North America were the same. All had black hair, black eyes, copper-colored skin, high cheek bones, and no beard. As is stated above, the barbarous Indians, especially those between the Mississippi River and the Atlantic Ocean, were the only ones who had any important influence on



AN INCA CITY IN PERU

City of Tiahuanacu as restored by Richard Inwards

the history of the United States. Although they raised some agricultural products, as Indian corn, tomatoes, tobacco, pumpkins and beans, they obtained most of their food by hunting and fishing. They lived in huts and wigwams, and the women did most of the hard, unpleasant work. This mode of living and of securing food required a large territory for a small number of people, and therefore the number of Indians was always small. It is doubtful if the entire Indian population east of the Mississippi exceeded two hundred thousand. In other words, the population of New York City at the present time (1909) is

twenty times greater than was the Indian population of the entire country east of the Mississippi.

18. Character.—Although the American Indian was kind and hospitable to friends, and to strangers with whose relatives or nation he was at peace, he was by nature cruel, revengeful and treacherous. He was brave as to physical pain, and would suffer torture without complaint, but in war he used all the tactics of the savage and the coward. He would not make a



AN ALGONQUIN VILLAGE

fair, open fight if he could possibly avoid it, preferring to shoot his enemy from a safe place of concealment. He delighted in the torture of prisoners and in the murder of women and children. In domestic life he was lazy and filthy. But with all these faults he was intelligent, proud and haughty, and could never be enslaved. He despised manual labor as beneath his dignity and fit only for women and children. His dislike for labor, and the fact that he had no con-

ception whatever of private ownership and use of land, were the principal reasons why he would not adopt the white man's civilization and settle down to a peaceful, industrious life. This is not true of the Creeks nor of some of the other southern Indians. They adopted to some extent the civilization of the whites. In Oklahoma to-day their descendants are American citizens, and are quite industrious and civilized.

TABLE OF DISCOVERIES AND EXPLORATIONS

NOTE: The pupil should not be required to memorize the table given below; it is for reference only.

NAME OF EXPLORER	FOR WHAT NATION MADE	TERRITORY OR COUNTRY EXPLORED
Columbus	Spain	1492, Bahamas, Cuba, Hayti; 1493, Porto Rico, Jamaica, Hayti and Cuba; 1498, Trinidad, Hayti and Cuba; 1502, West Indies, Central and South America
Cabot, John	England	1497-1498, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and New England coast
Vespucius, Americus	Spain	1499, northeast coast of South America; 1500, coast of South America off Brazil
Vespucius, Americus	Portugal	1501-1503, coast of Brazil
Ponce de Leon	Spain	1512, west coast of Florida
Balboa	Spain	1513, Isthmus of Panama. Discovered the Pacific Ocean
Magellan	Spain	1519-1522, east coast of South America and the Philippine Islands; first to go around the world
Verrazano	France	1524, Atlantic coast from North Carolina to Maine
Cartier	France	1534-1535, St. Lawrence Valley
Cabeza de Vaca	Spain	1534-1536, Gulf of Mexico and across Mexico to Gulf of California
Coronado	Spain	1540-1542, Northern Mexico and Southwestern United States
De Soto	Spain	1548, Western Florida and lower Mississippi Valley
Drake	England	1577-1580, Pacific coast of North and South America
Gilbert	England	1583, Newfoundland
Champlain	France	1603, St. Lawrence Valley; 1608, St. Lawrence Valley and region of Lake Champlain
Hudson	Netherlands	1609, Hudson River Valley
La Salle	France	1669-1682, around the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley
Marquette and Joliet	France	1673, Wisconsin region and the Mississippi Valley



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH
BRONZE STATUE BY WILLIAM COUPER

UNVEILED AT JAMESTOWN ISLAND, SEPTEMBER 1907
BY THE SOCIETY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF VIRGINIA ANTIQUITIES

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES
ORIGIN, GROWTH AND POLITICAL HISTORY

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

ORIGIN, GROWTH AND POLITICAL HISTORY

THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

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 - (b) The Jamestown Colony
 - 2. Government in Early Virginia
 - (a) Character of Early Settlers
 - (b) Government under Smith and Dale
 - (c) Origin of Representative Government in America
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 - (a) Government in Massachusetts: Rights of Englishmen Demanded
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 - (a) Under Penn
 - (b) Under Deputy Governors



THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

ORIGIN, GROWTH AND POLITICAL HISTORY*

THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

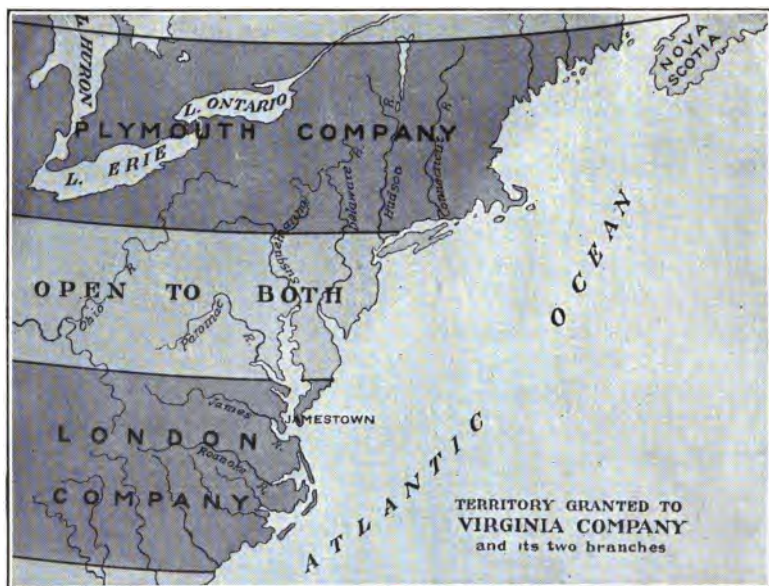
Virginia

19. Origin and Growth in Population.—As has been stated, England granted her territory in North America to companies and individuals, and established some crown colonies. Although the efforts of Sir Walter Raleigh to establish an English colony in the New World were not successful, they directed the attention of the English people to the question of planting colonies in America. The attack of the Spanish Armada interrupted Raleigh's plans for colonization. After the destruction of the Armada the English people were free to take up the matter again. During the latter part of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century there were hard times in England, and many of the English people desired to emigrate to the New World in order to better their condition. Fortunately, King James I now came to their assistance.

(a) *Grants to London and Plymouth Companies.*—When James became king of England he revoked the charter granted Raleigh, and in 1606 granted the land from about Cape Fear to the mouth of the Potomac River to a company composed of London merchants, called the London Company. At the same time he granted the land from about New York City to Nova Scotia to a Company called the Plymouth Company. The London Company and the Plymouth Company were really the two branches of one great company called the Virginia Company, which was to have general control of all the territory from about Cape Fear north to Nova Scotia. The boundaries of the territory granted the two branch companies were changed from

time to time. Each was almost independent of the main or Virginia Company. The general charter provided that the Virginia Company and the two branch companies were to be governed each by its own council, consisting of thirteen members.

(b) *The Jamestown Colony.*—The London Company sent out one hundred and five colonists, who in 1607 founded Jamestown on the James River, this being the first permanent English settlement in America. More than half of these first settlers



died the first year, and all would have perished had it not been for John Smith. He took charge of affairs, established order, and secured food from the Indians. Two years from the time the first settlers came, five hundred more arrived, but within six months all but sixty of these had died. Those remaining became discouraged, embarked on their vessels, and started down the James River; but after going a few miles they met Lord Delaware with three ships, ample provisions and many more settlers. The colony now became firmly established, and other colonists came over every year. By 1620 there were more

than four thousand; in 1670 there were more than forty thousand; and in 1775 this number had increased to about six hundred and seventy thousand.

20. Government in Early Virginia:¹⁰ (a) *Character of Early Settlers.*—From 1607 to 1624 the London Company governed Virginia. This company was organized for the purpose of making money, and the first settlers of the colony came for the same purpose. Very few of them intended to build homes in Virginia and remain there permanently. Some called themselves gentlemen; some were criminals taken from the jails of England; and some were lazy and worthless. Men of such character should be ruled by some authority that enforces the laws strictly and maintains order. This the London Company did. It appointed governors who, with its assistance, made the laws for the colony and enforced them.



LORD DELAWARE
After the original painting

(b) *Government under Smith and Dale.*—Captain John Smith and Sir Thomas Dale were the two ablest of the early governors. Smith saved the colony from destruction during the first two years of its existence by enforcing law and order, compelling the men to work, and procuring food from the Indians. In 1611 Dale found the colony in very bad condition, many of the men refusing to work and those who committed crimes going unpunished. Dale's administration marks the beginning of stable government in Virginia. New laws were adopted and strictly enforced. Thieves were hanged and all the able-bodied were compelled to work. Up to this time all

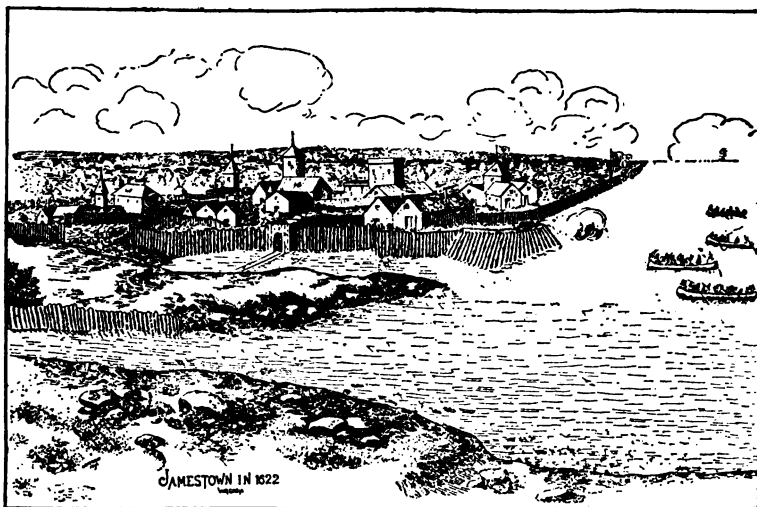
that the settlers produced was put together and became the common property of all. Dale changed this. He gave each man so much land, and this became his property. Everything he produced belonged to him, except two and one-half barrels of corn exacted each year as a tax for the support of the government. This plan caused each man to take more interest in his work because what he produced became his property.

(c) *Origin of Representative Government in America.*—During Dale's administration men of a different class began to come to Virginia. They came for the purpose of living there permanently and making homes for themselves and their families. They belonged to the sturdy middle class of England, the best and most substantial class of the nation. These colonists had been accustomed in England to help make the laws under which they lived, by electing their law-makers. The taxes that they paid while in England could not be levied except by a body of men elected by them. The English people had secured the right to tax themselves, and the other liberties they enjoyed, by long centuries of peaceful struggle and bloody warfare.

The new colonists prized these liberties so highly that, as soon as four thousand people had settled in Virginia, they asked the London Company to permit them to elect a body of men to help make the laws. Their request was granted and two representatives were elected by each of the eleven settlements. This was not a new principle in English government. It meant that Englishmen in America were exercising the same rights they had enjoyed while in England and that their fellow-citizens in England were then enjoying. The twenty-two men elected by the people met in the church at Jamestown on Friday, July 30, 1619. They constituted the first law-making body ever elected in America. Each member was called a burgess, and together they were called the House of Burgesses. They at once repealed the more severe laws made by Dale and made new laws for the colony. The new laws, like the old ones, compelled men to attend church, and in other ways interfered with what are called the personal liberties of the individual.

(d) *Charter of the London Company Annulled.*—During the ninety years before the first settlers came to Jamestown the

people of Europe were constantly quarreling and fighting about religion. The trouble began in Germany in 1517 and soon extended to England. In 1534, while Henry VIII was king, the government of England changed the Catholic church in England to some extent and made the king instead of the pope the head of the church. Henry still claimed to be a Catholic, but later the new church was called the Episcopal or Established church and members of the Catholic church in England were those who accepted the pope as the head of the church. Severe laws were



JAMESTOWN IN 1622

After a cut in a pamphlet published in Holland in 1707

passed against the Catholic church; all taxes for its support were abolished; the property it owned was taken away from it and given to the king; and all appeals from England to the pope were forbidden. The Episcopal church was made the state church and was supported by public money, as the Catholic church had been before. It was not long until several new churches were organized, but the members of these and of the Catholic church were often persecuted and arrested, and many of them were executed. The members of one of these new churches were called Puritans.

The Puritans got control of the London Company in 1619. James I, who was then king of England, had a strong dislike for the Puritans on account of their religion and because they believed that the people should have a part in the making of laws and in the voting of taxes. Because of his opposition to the Puritans, James, in 1624, had the courts of England annul the charter of the London Company. After this he appointed the governors of Virginia, but the colonists still elected the Burgesses. Soon after the charter was annulled, James died and Charles I became king of England. Charles quarreled a great deal with the people of England about their rights to



GRAVES OF THE FIRST SETTLERS

Near the church tower (see next page) are the graves of the founders of the first permanent English Settlement in America

make the laws and vote taxes. Finally the quarrel led to war, the king's forces were defeated, and in 1649 he was beheaded. During the next eleven years England had no king. Cromwell, one of the leaders in the war against the king, and Parliament, which represented the people, ruled England. These religious troubles and the opposition of the English people

to their kings were very important to America because they affected the government and the welfare of the people, not only in Virginia but in other English colonies.

(e) *Quarrels between the People and the Royal Governors.*— During nearly all the time from 1624 to 1776, the governors of Virginia were appointed by the kings of England. During a part of this period there was bitter contention between the kings and the people of England as to whether the latter should have any voice in law-making. The kings wished to rule England without the assistance of a legislative body elected by the people. As the royal governors of Virginia were appointed

by these kings and represented their ideas and wishes, they were opposed to the House of Burgesses and did not wish it to assist in making the laws for that colony. But the people of Virginia insisted that the House of Burgesses should help make the laws under which they lived, and during most of this time it was the real source of power and the head of the government.



From a recent photograph

ALL THAT IS LEFT OF JAMESTOWN

The old church tower and the church foundation

The constant trouble between the people and the royal governors over these questions caused the colonists to dislike their governors, although they loved England and fondly called her the "Mother Country." As these same conditions existed in many of the other colonies, the acts of the royal governors caused the people to guard their rights more and more carefully.¹¹

21. Sir William Berkeley; the English Cavaliers.—One of the most important of the royal governors of Virginia was Sir William Berkeley. He was governor from 1642 to 1652, and from 1659 to 1676. Between the two periods of Berkeley's governorship, Cromwell and the English Parliament ruled



QUARREL BETWEEN BACON AND BERKELEY

England, and during most of this time the Virginians elected their own governors and enjoyed a large degree of independence. Berkeley's long rule in Virginia was noted especially for two things: the large immigration of English cavaliers who had been friends of Charles I—the king beheaded by Cromwell—and the steady opposition maintained to the rights of the people, leading to Bacon's Rebellion in 1676. During the twenty-one years beginning with Puritan rule in England (1649) the population of Virginia increased from fifteen thousand to forty thousand. Most of those who came over during this period had been friends of the dead king and were rich and well educated. Among these were the ancestors of George Washington and others who became famous in the American Revolution. Many secured extensive estates, and they and their descendants made up a large part of the country gentlemen in Virginia.

22. Bacon's Rebellion.—After Sir William Berkeley became governor of Virginia the second time his rule grew very oppres-

sive. For fourteen years the people were not permitted to elect a new House of Burgesses. In 1676 the Indians began to burn houses and murder people on the frontier. As Governor Berkeley refused to raise an army to protect the settlers, Nathaniel Bacon, an honest, brave and popular young man, gathered a small force for this purpose. Berkeley declared him a rebel and for four months there was some fighting between the forces of the governor and those under Bacon. Berkeley was driven out of Jamestown and it was burned. Soon after this Bacon died, and the men under him dispersed to their homes. Berkeley executed twenty-three of the leading men who took part in the rebellion. For this he was removed by the king and another governor was appointed. The only important result of Bacon's Rebellion was to arouse the people of Virginia against the oppressive rule of the royal governors and to cultivate in them the spirit of independence. The rule of the royal governors who succeeded Berkeley was, in most cases, also oppressive and tended to develop still more the spirit of independence and opposition.

Maryland

23. Origin and Growth in Population.—In the year 1632 King Charles I granted to George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, a tract of land that included the present states of Maryland and Delaware, together with small strips of southern Pennsylvania and northern Virginia. George Calvert, however, died before the charter was actually issued, so a new one was drawn up which gave the same lands to his son Cecil, who, by his father's death, became Lord Baltimore. George Calvert was a Catholic, and one of the objects that he had in view in founding the colony was to provide a home for Catholics from England. They were being persecuted, and he hoped that in Maryland they would be able to enjoy the exercise of their religion without interference. Both he and his son Cecil desired that in Maryland every one, as long as he was a good citizen, should be permitted to live in peace, regardless of his religious belief or of what church he was a member. Two hundred colonists came over in 1634 and founded the town of St. Mary's, near the mouth

of the Potomac. By 1688 the population of the colony had increased to about twenty-five thousand, and by 1775 to about two hundred and fifty thousand.

24. Nature of the Government.—The charter granted by King Charles to Lord Baltimore and his heirs vested in them great authority over the new colony. They had authority there almost equal to that enjoyed by the king in England, but the



GEORGE CALVERT
The first Lord Baltimore

people of the colony were to have the right to assist in making the laws. No law could be enacted without their consent, and during the entire history of this colony the people had a large share in the government. At first they all came together to consider laws and taxation, but soon they elected a legislative body that attended to these affairs for them. While there were disagreements several times between the people and Lord Baltimore and his heirs regarding laws and taxes, these disputes were usually settled without much trouble.

25. Invasion of Claiborne.

—Most of the political history of Maryland during colonial times is closely related to contentions and disputes among opposing religious factions. Before King Charles I granted Maryland to Lord Baltimore, William Claiborne, a Virginian, had settled on a little island in Chesapeake Bay. He tried to prevent the colonists sent over by Lord Baltimore from making a settlement, but was himself forced to return to Virginia. During the next ten years a large number of Puritans settled in the new colony. They wished to get

control of the government in order to oppress the Catholics. Claiborne, with some other Virginians, invaded Maryland and with the assistance of these disaffected Puritans secured control of the government, but he was soon driven out. In 1654 they were again successful in overthrowing the government. Cromwell made a careful investigation of the matter, and, though himself a Puritan, decided that the colony belonged to the Baltimore family. The clergy and members of the Episcopal church were also opposed to the Catholics. They made several attempts to seize the government, and in 1689 were successful. At this time there were severe laws in England against Catholics, and these resulted in the charter being annulled. From 1692 to 1714 the governors of Maryland were appointed by the king, but when at this latter date the fourth Lord Baltimore became a Protestant, his rights were acknowledged, and his family retained control of the government until the colonies became the United States.

North and South Carolina

26. Origin and Growth in Population.—In 1663 King Charles II granted the territory between Virginia and Florida to eight of his friends, among whom were Sir William Berkeley, the Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Clarendon, and the Earl of Shaftesbury. Before this charter was issued a few English colonists had made a settlement on Albemarle Sound, and these were soon joined by others. The first settlement in South Carolina was made on the southern side of Charleston harbor in 1670, and ten years later Charleston was founded. Other settlements were soon made both in North Carolina and South Carolina, the most important being around Charleston and on the Cape Fear River. But during the first thirty-five years the growth in population was not rapid. At first South Carolina was the more populous, the settlements around Charleston having a population of about three thousand in 1682. At the close of the seventeenth century the population began to increase more rapidly. In 1775 there were about two hundred thousand people living in North Carolina and about one hundred and eighty thousand in South Carolina.

27. Government in the Early Carolinas: (a) *Character of the Colonists.*—The colonists of North Carolina and South Carolina came from various nations and were members of a number of different churches. French, Scotch and Germans formed a large part of the population. Many came to these two colonies because they were persecuted at home on account of their religious ideas. Quakers, Baptists and Catholics came from England and Virginia in order to escape religious persecutions; a large number of Huguenots came from France for the same reason; and many Scotch Presbyterians, who could no longer endure the persecution at home, came to these colonies to



CHARLESTON IN 1742

From an old print

make new homes for themselves and their families. Many royalists who had fled to the Barbadoes and other islands after the execution of Charles I now settled in the Carolinas. The men and women who composed this mixed population represented strength and determination. They were willing to suffer hardships in order to enjoy their religious and political beliefs.

(b) *Representative Government.*—The proprietors to whom the king had granted these two colonies were members of the Church of England, and they were opposed to the members of other churches taking any part in making laws or voting taxes. As most of the people were not members of the Church of England, there was constant trouble between them and the governors appointed by the proprietors. The people in both

colonies soon secured the right to elect legislative bodies. There were frequent disagreements with some of the governors, but the people insisted on making the laws. Governor Sothel, who attempted to deprive them of this right, was driven from the colonies. In 1719 South Carolina again deposed her governor. This determination on the part of the people to maintain their religious and political rights led frequently to great disorder, and sometimes there was scarcely any government at all, this being true especially in North Carolina. Because of these frequent and serious disorders the charter was annulled in 1729; North and South Carolina each became a royal province, and until 1776 the governors were appointed by the king.

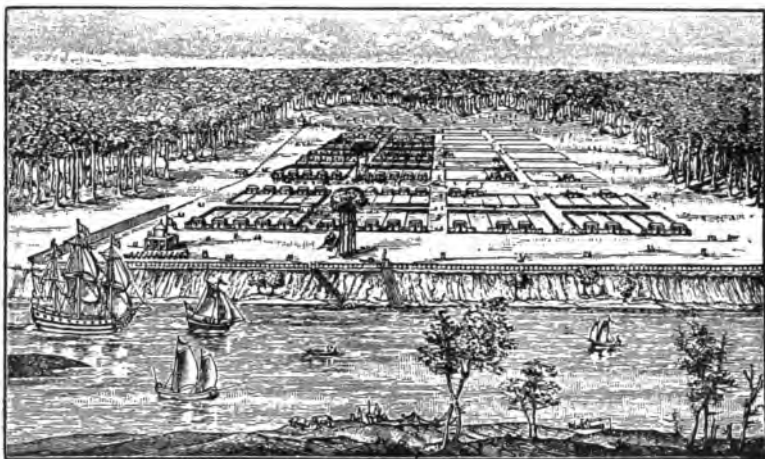
Georgia

28. Origin and Growth in Population.—When South Carolina became a royal province, the Savannah River was made its southern boundary, and the territory south of this river and north of Florida (the latter belonged to Spain) was reserved for a new colony. In England, at that time, the man who could not pay his debts was put in prison and kept there until he found some way to satisfy his creditors. James Oglethorpe, who was an English army officer and a member of Parliament, investigated the conditions of the debtors in the prisons. He found these conditions very bad, and in his desire to do something for these prisoners conceived the idea of making homes for them in America. In order to accomplish this, he induced King George II to grant to him and twenty other men the English territory south of the Savannah.

To help the debtors pay their debts and get another start in the new colony, which was called Georgia, some rich men gave money, and Parliament voted about fifty thousand dollars. Oglethorpe was appointed governor, and in 1733 with thirty-five families made the first settlement in the last English colony to be established in America, by founding the city of Savannah. Augusta was founded the next year, and five years later another settlement was made at the mouth of the Altamaha. At first the colony was not prosperous. In 1752 there were less than

five thousand people living in Georgia, but from this time on the population increased more rapidly and had reached about seventy-five thousand in 1775.

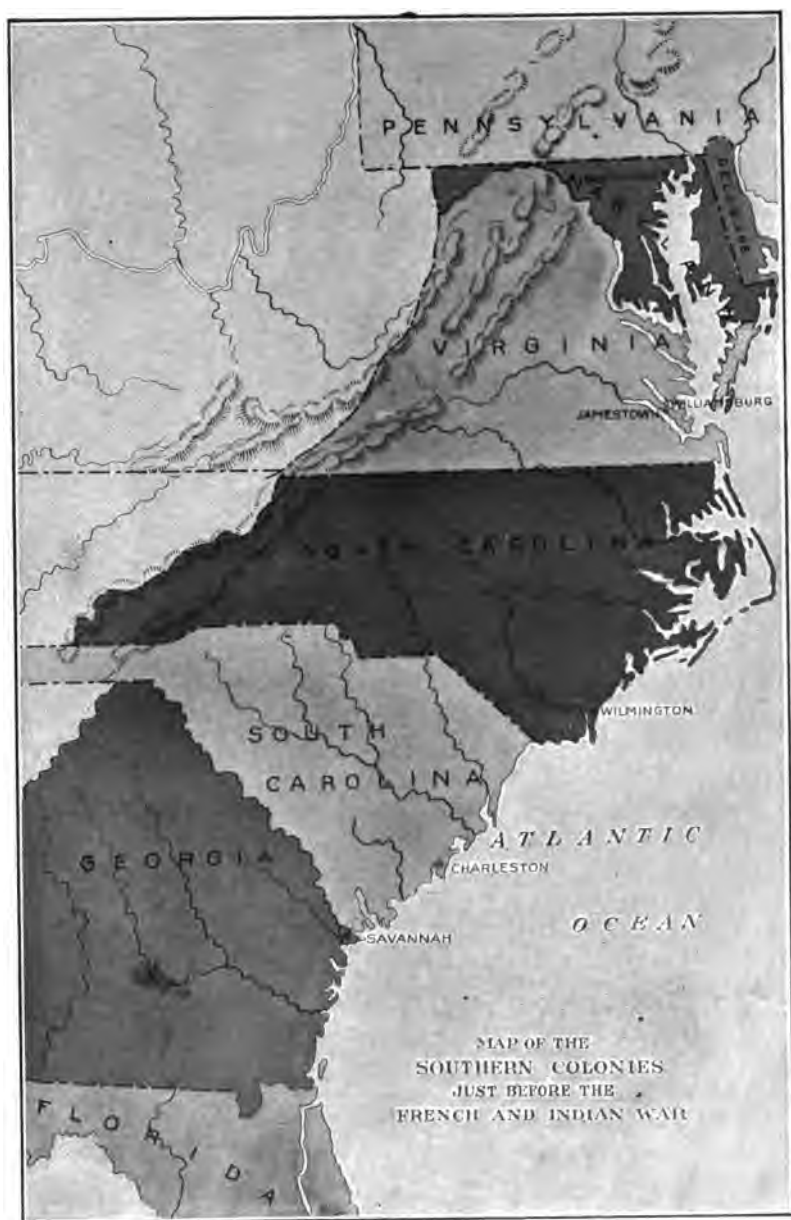
29. Nature of the Government.—The charter of the colony placed the government entirely in the hands of the proprietors, and the colonists were permitted to have but little share in making the laws under which they lived. The charter granted complete religious liberty, except for Catholics, and provided that all foreigners should have equal civil and political rights

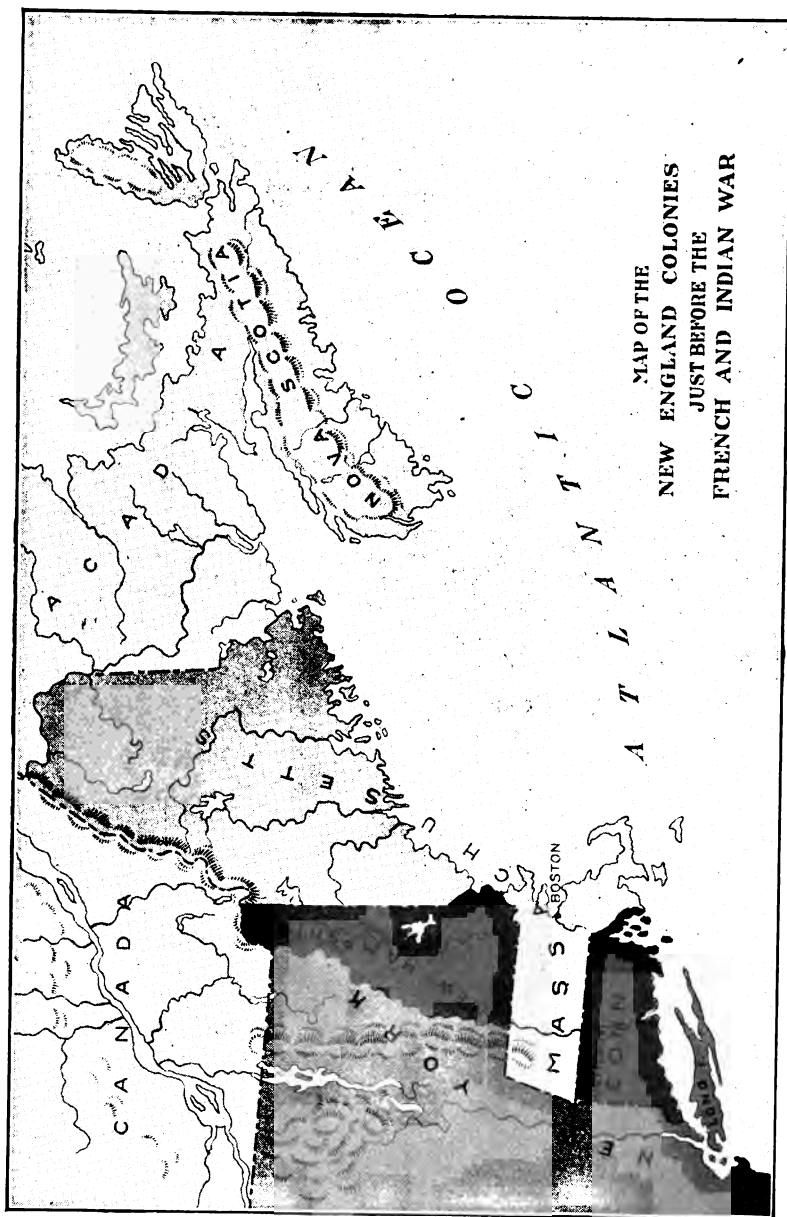


SAVANNAH ABOUT 1740

From a print published in London in 1741

with Englishmen. A number of Scotch and German settlers came to the new colony. The people of South Carolina were very glad to have this colony south of them. They had been having considerable trouble with the Spaniards in Florida, and the founding of Georgia served as a protection against Spanish attacks. For a number of years Georgia had to bear the brunt of such attacks. Oglethorpe made a splendid military governor. He invaded Florida, and the Spaniards in turn invaded Georgia and made an assault on Frederica by land and sea. They could not capture the town, and the arrival of English vessels caused them to return to Florida. When





Oglethorpe returned to England in 1743, the condition of affairs in the colony grew worse and worse. In 1752 Georgia was made a royal province, and from then until the Revolution it became more and more prosperous and increased faster in population.

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

Origin and Growth

30. Origin of Puritans and Separatists.—In 1528 Pope Clement VII refused to grant Henry VIII of England a divorce from his wife Catherine. This displeased Henry very much, because he wished to marry Anne Boleyn, one of Catherine's maids. In order to do this he induced Parliament to enact a statute declaring that he and not the pope should be considered the head of the Catholic church in England. As no case could be taken from England to the pope after Parliament made this law, the king's request for a divorce was tried in an English court, and it was granted. Henry had defended the pope and had written pamphlets against Martin Luther and others, who opposed the Catholic church and its teachings. He therefore had no desire to make many changes in the doctrines and forms of the church, but wished merely to overthrow the pope's power in England, and to assume that power himself, in order to divorce his wife and to carry out other plans that were, or might be, opposed by the pope. But the opposition to the church as it then existed could not be checked. The act of Parliament declaring that the pope was no longer head of the church in England added to the rapid growth of this opposition. Henry tried to prevent any radical changes in the church itself, but was not entirely successful. Each year the number opposed to the church, as it then existed, increased.

As a result of this opposition, the Catholic church in England was changed considerably, and soon came to be known as the Episcopal or Established church. But it was not changed enough to suit many of the reformers. Some of these desired to remain in the Established church, but wished to reform or

purify its creed and ceremonies. These were called Puritans. Others more strongly opposed to the doctrines and forms of the church desired to, and did, withdraw or separate from it. These were called Separatists. The Puritans succeeded in securing some changes in the Established church, but not enough to suit them, and within a little less than one hundred years after Parliament declared Henry VIII the head of the Church of England, some of the Puritans as well as the Separatists had withdrawn from this church and formed one of their own.

31. Persecution of the Puritans and Separatists.—Those opposed to the Established church were not permitted to withdraw peacefully and establish separate churches that were not under the authority of the king. In many cases their property was taken from them, they were sent to jail, and the leaders were put to death. At first the Puritans, as well as the members of the Established church, assisted in the persecution of the Separatists, but it was not long before the Puritans themselves were severely persecuted. In order to escape persecution, and to be free to worship God as they desired, a number of the Separatists escaped from England in 1607 and settled in Holland. Many Puritans joined this band, and by 1619 the number of exiles at Leyden numbered more than one thousand. These men and women did not wish to remain in Holland, because they feared their children would acquire the speech, habits and manners of the Dutch. They wished to find a place where they might live and worship in peace and yet remain British subjects in British territory. They knew of the success of the Jamestown colony and decided that the New World was an excellent place to establish a permanent home for themselves and their children.

32. The Founding of the Plymouth Colony.—In 1620, after some trouble in securing permission from the London Company and the necessary money from English merchants, about one hundred of these Separatists, called Pilgrims on account of their wanderings, sailed in the *Mayflower* for that part of the Atlantic coast that is now New Jersey. Instead of reaching the coast at that point they sighted land off Cape Cod, and on November 11 made a temporary landing and began to look for a place to build homes. In 1606 King James, as has been stated, granted the

Plymouth Company, which was a branch of the great Virginia Company, all the land between Long Island and Nova Scotia. As the Plymouth Company had failed to make a settlement in this territory, as required by the charter, it had lost its legal right to the territory. In 1620, however, members of the company succeeded in securing a new patent. This new Plymouth Company, also known as the Council for New England, was composed of forty members. When the Pilgrims landed in Massachusetts, therefore, they were in the territory of the



THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS

Plymouth Company and not of the London Company from which they had secured the right to settle in the New World. But they later secured this right from the Plymouth Company. Having selected a place to build homes, they made a permanent landing December 21, and founded Plymouth. The first winter was a severe one and more than half of the colonists died of cold, hunger and disease. However, in the face of all discouragements, these men and women clung to their new home persistently. In 1630 the colony contained three hundred persons, in 1640 about three thousand, and in 1670 about eight thousand.

33. Founding of Massachusetts Bay Colony.—The Plymouth colony had a humble origin and a slow growth. For ten years after Plymouth was settled it seemed that the growth of New England would be slow and feeble indeed. But conditions in England were soon to change all this. Charles I became king in 1625. He was strongly opposed to the Puritans and the liberal and constitutional form of government for which they stood.



JOHN ENDICOTT

From the portrait in the possession of the
Massachusetts Historical Society

On March 2, 1629, the king broke up the session of Parliament and sent some of its members to prison. The Puritans saw that they must fight in England and thus bring on a civil war, or submit to the tyranny of the king, or leave the country. Many decided to remain in England and wait for a favorable opportunity to oppose the king openly; others decided to emigrate to New England.

In 1628 some of the leading Puritans purchased from the Plymouth or New England Company a large tract of land in Massachusetts lying between the Charles and the Merrimac rivers, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Soon

afterward a small party of Puritans, led by John Endicott, settled at a place called Naumkeag, and changed the name to Salem. In 1629 the king granted to the men who had purchased this tract of land a charter, which created a corporation called the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay. During the same year about four hundred emigrants crossed to this territory and settled at Salem, thus making it larger than Plymouth, which had been founded nine years before. In 1630 more than

one thousand Puritans came to New England and settled the towns of Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Watertown and New Town (later called Cambridge). By 1635 the number of colonists in the different settlements in Massachusetts was about five thousand.

34. The Founding of Connecticut.—This colony was founded by people from Massachusetts, but, before they came, small settlements had been made by traders from Plymouth and by the Dutch. In 1631 a grant of land along the valley of the Connecticut River had been obtained from the New England Company by Lord Saye and Sele and by Lord Brooke, but no attempt at colonization was made at that time. The first English settlement was made in 1633 by fur traders from Plymouth. They built a house on the Connecticut River where the town of Windsor was planted a little later. The Dutch, who had before this made a settlement at Hartford, objected to having their territory invaded in this way but their protests were unheeded by the English. In 1635 a party from Dorchester, Massachusetts, planted a settlement at Windsor around the walls of the Plymouth trading post, and within a few years others from Massachusetts settled at Hartford and Wethersfield. Massachusetts at first held control over these settlements, but in 1639 they united under the name of Connecticut, and set up an independent government.

In 1637 a congregation of Puritans, composed of wealthy London merchants and their families, arrived in Boston. Not being entirely satisfied with the religious conditions there, and desiring to establish a government that should be more closely connected with the church than that of the Massachusetts Bay colony, they left in the spring and founded the town of New Haven. By 1640 settlers from this town, from England and from the Massachusetts Bay colony had founded the towns of Milford, Guilford and Stamford. These four towns united in 1643 and formed the colony of New Haven. Afterward the towns of Southold and Branford joined the colony.

The Connecticut and New Haven colonies kept up a separate existence for many years, but in the year 1662 Connecticut obtained a royal charter that annexed to her the New Haven

colony. New Haven objected strongly to being absorbed in this way, but was forced to give up her independence. The united colony prospered, and its advance in wealth and population was rapid. By the time of the Revolution, Connecticut contained about two hundred thousand inhabitants.

35. The Founding of Rhode Island.—The settlement of Rhode Island was due largely to religious and political troubles in Massachusetts. In 1631 Roger Williams, a young Puritan minister, came to Massachusetts and began to preach doctrines in regard to the church and government that were much disliked by the leaders of the colony. He claimed that the people had no right to the land in the colony until it had been purchased from the Indians. He also insisted upon a separation of church and state, and therefore denied the right of the government to make laws relating to church matters. He was regarded as dangerous to the peace of the colony, and was therefore banished. In 1636 he bought a tract of land from the Indians and founded a small settlement which he named Providence. Two years later the General Court of Massachusetts banished Anne Hutchinson for criticising the beliefs and ceremonies of the Puritan church. She and her followers purchased the island Aquednok, or Rhode Island, and made a settlement called Portsmouth. In 1639 this settlement divided, and Newport was founded on another part of the island. The town of Warwick was established later by Samuel Gorton, a follower of Anne Hutchinson, who aroused great strife wherever he went, being banished from several settlements because of his religious and political ideas.

In 1643 these separate towns along the shores of Narragansett Bay were united under the title of Providence Plantations, this name being changed later to Rhode Island. The growth of the colony was very slow for the first ten years on account of the religious and political disturbances. After this period it grew more rapidly, and at the time of the Revolution had over fifty thousand inhabitants.

36. Early History of New Hampshire.—The earliest settlements in the territory later known as New Hampshire were two trading posts at Dover and Portsmouth, established in 1623 by John Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges. These men had obtained

from the New England Company a large grant of land along the coast in the northern part of New England. Their grant was divided later, one part going to Gorges as Maine and the other to Mason as New Hampshire. The boundaries were uncertain and caused trouble later. At the time Anne Hutchinson was banished from Massachusetts many of her followers went to New Hampshire and established the towns of Exeter and Hampton. All the towns in this territory were independent settlements, and their quarrels among themselves became so harmful to their growth and prosperity that in 1641 they allowed Massachusetts to incorporate them under her laws. They remained in this relation for thirty years, when King Charles II made New Hampshire a separate province and placed it under the control of the crown.

37. Settlement of Maine.—Gorges paid but little attention to Maine. Only two small settlements were founded by him, but later independent towns sprang up. After his death several claimants to this territory appeared, and Massachusetts was asked to settle the matter. She did this in 1649 by dividing the territory into three parts, one for each claimant. During the nine years following the three parts separately were annexed to Massachusetts.



ROGER WILLIAMS

Statue by Franklin Simmons, at Providence, R. I.

Government in Early New England

38. The Virginian and the Puritan.—Many of those who settled in the southern colonies came to America for other reasons than to escape religious persecution. They belonged to the Episcopal or Established Church of England and therefore

were under the protection of the government in religious matters. They came to the New World for the sake of adventure, but more especially because they could make a better living for themselves and their children. They represented the more fearless and independent part of the sturdy middle class—the best stock of the English nation. They were thorough believers in the civil and political liberty that Englishmen enjoyed, and they and their descendants were as stout in the defense of those rights in the struggle with the English kings, which ended in the Revolution, as were the people of New England.

The colonists of New England, unlike those of Virginia and most of those in the other southern colonies, came to America mainly because of religious persecution in England. Many of them were men of wealth and were graduates of the English universities of Oxford and Cambridge. They planned and established a state based on Puritan ideas of religion and government. This does not mean that religious liberty existed in the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies. The Puritans persecuted those who preached any doctrine other than Puritanism just as severely as they themselves had been persecuted in England. They united the church and state. The laws provided that no one should vote or hold an office of any kind unless he were a member of the Puritan church. This form of government, where the church and state are thus connected, is known as a Theocracy.

39. Puritan Ideas of Government; Local Government.—

The Puritans were among those who most bitterly opposed the attempts of the English king to make and execute laws without the sanction of Parliament, or a body of men representing the people. Charles I broke up Parliament on Monday, March 2, 1629, and two days later granted the charter to the Massachusetts Bay Company. The Puritans under that charter at once organized in Massachusetts the kind of government for which they had been contending against the king in England. The Puritan immigration to the Massachusetts Bay colony was so large that it called for the immediate organization of a definite form of government. As a rule, the Puritans came over in congregations led by their pastors—not as individuals, as was the case in the southern colonies. Each congregation established a

small town, and the citizens, that is the church members, met at the meeting house (usually the first public building erected in these colonies) or in the town hall, and elected the town officers and decided all the more important questions affecting the welfare of the town.¹²

40. Government Under the Charters: (a) *In Massachusetts—Rights of Englishmen Demanded.*—The charter of the Massachusetts Bay colony provided for the election each year of



GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S HOUSE, 1621

a governor, a deputy governor, and a committee of eighteen members, called assistants. These officers were to meet at least once each year, and when thus assembled were called the General Court. The charter contained no provision requiring the members of the company to keep the seat of government in England. The leading members of the company at once decided to hold all the meetings of the company in America. Thus in 1629, before the first large immigration, the government of the colony was transferred from England to America.

It was not long before the colonists demanded the rights of Englishmen. In 1631 the governor and assistants wished to

construct forts and make other preparations against a possible attack by the Indians. They needed about three hundred dollars for this purpose, and in order to raise it levied a tax on the different towns or settlements. The people of Watertown objected to paying their share of this tax, because they claimed that Englishmen could not be compelled to pay taxes unless they assisted in levying them. This protest of the people of Watertown led to the election of delegates or representatives by each town. In a few years delegates thus elected met in a separate legislative body and soon secured more power in making the laws and governing the colony than the assistants and governor had. Thus it will be seen that from the very first the people of New England insisted, as did those of the southern colonies, on their right to help make the laws under which they lived. This was nothing new for Englishmen. The English colonists in America were merely demanding the same rights they had enjoyed while in England. Charles I was trying to deprive the people of England of these rights, and about eighteen years later the English people defeated his armies and beheaded him.

(b) *Government in Plymouth.*—Government in Plymouth was much the same in character as that in the Massachusetts Bay colony, which has been described. The government of Plymouth at first was a pure democracy, that is, all the citizens met and voted on all questions of general importance. A governor was elected annually, and also seven assistants. It was the duty of these officers to carry out the will of the people as expressed at the town meetings. As the colony increased in population it became inconvenient for all the freemen to vote on all measures, and there came to exist an assembly composed of delegates elected by the people of each town. This body was the most important part of the government.

(c) *Government in Rhode Island, Connecticut and New Haven.*—Before the New Haven colony was annexed to Connecticut the church had more control of the government than in even the Massachusetts Bay colony. None but church members could vote or have any share in the government, and it was made difficult for any one to become a member of the church.¹³ In Rhode Island and Connecticut the church and state were prac-

tically separated—a man's religious beliefs had nothing to do with his duties as a citizen, or with the part he might take in the government. In one respect Connecticut was different from all other New England colonies. It had a written constitution, made and adopted by the people. This constitution provided for the same kind of government that existed in Massachusetts, except that a man's rights and duties as a citizen did not depend on his religious beliefs.

(d) *The People Controlled Law-making.*—In 1640 the population of New England was about twenty-six thousand. As has been stated above, government in all the New England colonies was essentially the same in character, the only important difference being that the church had more to do with the government in some than in others. The citizens of each town met and elected their town officers and decided by direct vote the more important questions affecting the welfare of the town. They also elected delegates to the assembly, the law-making body in each colony. In the Massachusetts Bay colony the assistants, a committee whose members were chosen every year, helped to make the laws, but no law could be made unless a majority of the delegates elected by the people voted for it. Thus it will be seen that the people in each of the New England colonies governed themselves, subject to the laws of England, and that each colony was independent of the others.

41. New England Confederacy Formed.—There were conditions in early New England that might at any time require the colonies to act together. An attack by the Dutch in New



Probably by Van Dyck

JOHN WINTHROP

From the painting in the State House at
Boston

York, by the French in Canada or by the Indians would require the united action of all the New England colonies. In order to be ready if any such occasion should arise, the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven formed in 1643 what they called "The United Colonies of New England," but which is better known as the New England Confederacy. Rhode Island several times asked permission to join this Confederacy, but was refused. The reasons for this refusal were the lack of a stable government in Rhode Island, and a dislike of her by the other colonies because she received and protected those who had been banished from or had left the other colonies because of religious or political ideas.

(a) *Nature of the Confederacy.*—The Confederation was not a real union of the colonies, but a mere agreement between them to act together on certain general questions affecting the interests of all the colonies. The articles or written agreement adopted provided for the election of eight commissioners, two from each of the four colonies, thus making the colonies equally represented in the Confederation. The commissioners were to have entire control of all questions arising between the colonies and the Indians or a foreign power. All expenses were to be divided among the colonies according to population, but the manner of raising this money was left to each colony. The commissioners dealt with the government of each colony, that is, with the governor and legislative bodies, and not directly with the people of the Confederacy. A colony could comply with the requests of the commissioners or refuse if it so desired. If the commissioners could not agree on a question, they could refer it to the colonies for settlement. As the commissioners had no power to enforce their acts or orders, their government was in fact merely advisory.

(b) *Massachusetts Dissatisfied; Value of the Confederacy.*—The New England Confederacy lasted forty-one years, from 1643 to 1684. The lack of real power made it a weak form of union, and in this respect it closely resembled the government under the Articles of Confederation during the latter part of, and immediately after, the Revolutionary War. The Massachusetts Bay colony was especially dissatisfied with the Confederacy.

While she had six thousand more inhabitants than the other three colonies combined, and therefore paid more taxes for the support of the Confederacy than all the others, she had no more power in the management of the government than any one of them. Legally, she had no right to complain, for she knew all these things when she entered the Confederacy, but in deciding questions it was only natural that she should be inclined to assume more power than the other colonies. Her attitude toward them was sometimes overbearing and created bitter feeling. But with all its faults the Confederacy was of great value to New England, especially during the war with the Indians, 1675-1678. It was also of value to all the English colonies in America, as it served to prepare men's minds for unity of action a hundred years later, when a union among all the colonies became absolutely necessary in order that the colonists might maintain their rights against the despotic policy of the English king.

Relations of the English with the Indians

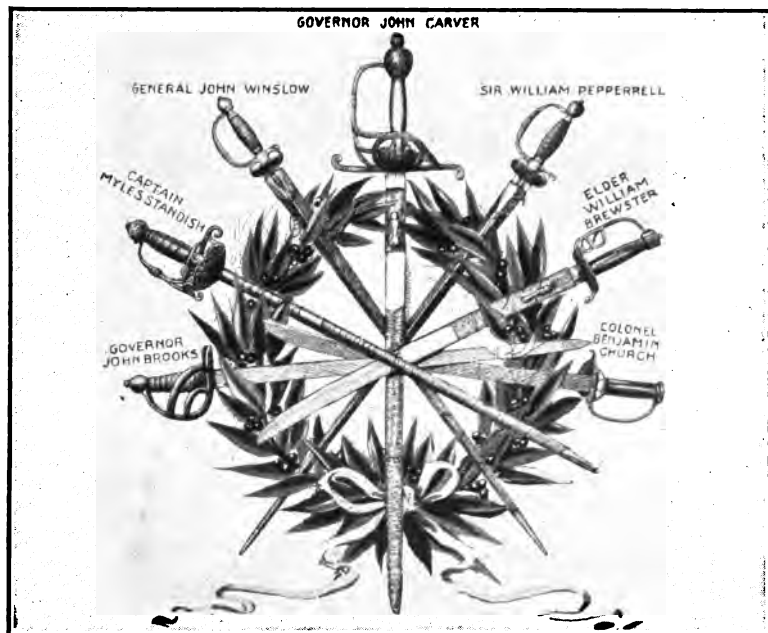
42. The Indians and the Puritans.—Up to about 1635 the people of the New England colonies were not troubled seriously by the Indians. This good fortune was due largely to the fact that nearly all the Indians who lived in the country where the Pilgrims and the Puritans first settled in Massachusetts had been carried off by an epidemic a short time before the Pilgrims landed. Not only did this leave the country around Plymouth and Boston unoccupied, but the Indians thought the disease came among them as a punishment because they had killed a few white fishermen several years before. In the spring of 1621, a few months after the Pilgrims landed, they made a treaty and alliance with Massasoit, who was the chief of the Wampanoags, a tribe of Indians that lived near by. The treaty was kept faithfully for more than fifty years by both the English and the Indians. While no treaty of peace was made with any of the Indian tribes that lived farther inland, they did not molest the English until almost fifteen years later, when the first settlements were being made in Connecticut along the Connecticut River. This friendly attitude of the Indians was most fortunate. The

settlement of Plymouth was small, and a serious attack by the Indians at any time during the years between the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth in 1620 and the settlement of Massachusetts Bay colony by the large immigration of Puritans in 1629-1630, might have resulted in the total destruction of all the English in New England.

43. The Pequod War: (a) *Origin.*—From the very nature of things, however, the friendly relations existing between the English and the Indians in New England could not long continue. If the English continued to come and settle the country farther inland, it would not be long until all the Indians in New England would be forced to seek other homes. The Indians felt from the first that the coming of the English was an intrusion on their domain and rights; but fear of the white man kept them from making an open attack. Contact with the English tended to lessen this fear. In 1633 eight English traders while going up the Connecticut River were murdered by Indians, members of the Pequod tribe that inhabited the territory along the Thames River. Sassacus, chief of this tribe, promised to deliver the murderers to the government at Boston, but neglected to do so. In 1636 some Indians on Block Island, who were subject to the Narragansetts living opposite on the mainland, murdered John Oldham, a trader, and captured his vessel. Governor Vane of Massachusetts at once sent a messenger to the chief of the Narragansetts, but the chief claimed not to have had anything to do with the murder, placing the entire blame on the Block Island Indians. When the governor heard this he sent a body of men under Endicott, which destroyed the wigwams and property of the Indians on Block Island. Endicott then crossed to the mainland and attacked the Pequods for the murder of the eight traders four years before, killing a number of them. In retaliation the Pequods at once began to kill the English in the smaller settlements in Connecticut, torturing their victims and even roasting one man alive.

(b) *Destruction of the Pequods.—Effect on the other Indians of New England.*—These acts were very serious and dangerous for the English, and compelled them to prepare immediately for war. The towns in the Connecticut Valley raised about

ninety men and placed them under the command of Captain John Mason, who had made an excellent record in the wars of Holland. Massachusetts contributed twenty men under John Underhill. These were joined by about five hundred Indians belonging to the Narragansett, Nyantic and Mohegan tribes.



GROUP OF SWORDS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Most of the Pequods, about seven hundred, had taken shelter in their fortified village near the mouth of the Thames. Mason led his men directly against this stronghold and made a night attack. The friendly Indians with Mason hated the Pequods because they had been forced to pay tribute to them for a number of years. Notwithstanding this hatred, they were so terrified by the power of the Pequods that they were afraid the English could not defeat them and in fear dropped behind as Mason approached the fort, thus giving no assistance in the

attack. The Pequods were completely surprised. The English set the village on fire by throwing firebrands among the wigwams, and killed those who attempted to escape. Only five succeeded in getting away. All the rest, about seven hundred, were either shot or burned to death in the village. The few remaining members of the tribe not in the fort were either killed or forced to join the other tribes. Thus in less than an hour the Pequods, the strongest Indian tribe in New England, were destroyed.

The Pequods had ruled over and terrified the Indians in New England for years. Their very name was feared by the other tribes. The total destruction of this powerful nation by a mere handful of English soldiers served as a terrible example to the other Indians of New England. They had never seen anything like it before. The important result was that the English were safe from attacks for nearly forty years. Not until the next generation had grown up did the Indians venture to make another attack on the English.



JOHN ELIOT

44. Treatment of the Indians by the Puritans.—While the

Puritans were very severe in their treatment of the Indians in time of actual warfare, their dealings with them before the Pequod War, and from that time until King Philip's War in 1675, were, as a rule, honorable, and in many cases even kind. All the land they occupied, except that taken from the Pequods, was bought from the Indians and always paid for. A brisk trade sprang up between the two races, the Indians exchanging furs for English goods. Through the efforts of Dr. Eliot and other missionaries, about four thousand Indians were converted to the Christian religion and settled in villages. Most of these, however, were from the Massachusetts and Wampanoag tribes,

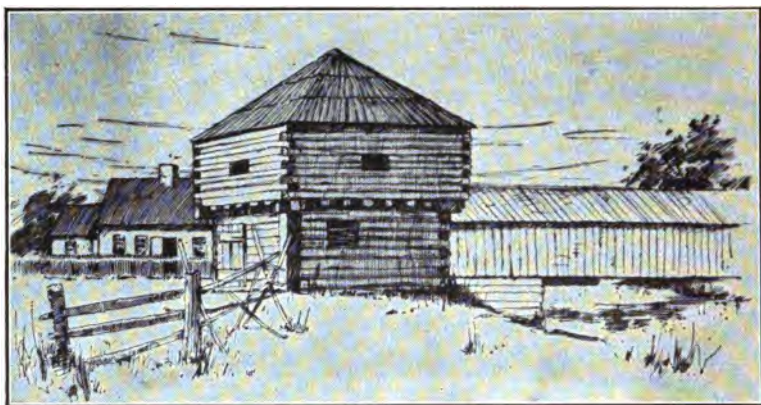
two of the smallest and weakest in New England. The Puritans endeavored also to educate the Indians, but their efforts met with little success, although one Indian was actually graduated from Harvard College in 1665.

45. The Englishman and the Indian Did not Understand Each Other.—Under such conditions the people of most races would have adopted the civilization of the whites and have settled down to an industrious and peaceful life. But the Indian's nature was too wild and independent to permit this. The Indian and the Puritan did not understand each other. The Indians had no conception of private ownership and the proper use of land. They owned their land in common, and no uncivilized Indian ever thought of calling a certain piece of land his own. If a tribe by treaty or agreement secured territory belonging to another tribe, it was understood that only the right to hunt and fish was transferred. When the Indians sold a piece of land to the Puritans, they did not understand that they had forever lost the right to the land.¹⁴ They did not realize for a long time that the constant selling of land would finally compel them to leave New England. When the Indians finally understood that the constant increase in the number of English in New England meant the loss of country to them, they very naturally became unfriendly to the whites. Another thing that made them dislike the whites was the custom of the governments of some of the colonies of calling before them the Indian chief of a tribe and demanding of him an explanation for some unfriendly or unjust act supposed to have been committed by him or members of his tribe. To the Indians this looked like subjection, and they were by nature too proud and independent to submit willingly to such humiliation.

46. King Philip's War: (a) *Origin.*—In 1660 Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoag Indians, died. He had been a good friend to the English ever since he made the treaty with the Pilgrims in 1621. Massasoit left two sons, Alexander and Philip. Alexander became chief of the tribe. The English heard that he was unfriendly, and summoned him to appear before the General Court at Plymouth. He went, but on his way home was taken ill suddenly with a severe fever and died. His brother

Philip, who then became chief of the Wampanoags, suspected that the English had poisoned Alexander, and he determined to have revenge. Philip's tribe was small, but he secured the assistance of the Narragansetts and Nipmucks, and in 1675, thirty-eight years after the destruction of the Pequods, war again broke out between the Indians and the English.

(b) *The War and Its Results.*—This war lasted until 1678 and is known in history as King Philip's War. It was a much more serious affair than the trouble with the Pequods. More than four thousand Indian warriors were determined to drive



NEW ENGLAND BLOCKHOUSE
Built for defense against the Indians

the English from their old hunting grounds. The Pequods had had no guns with which to fight; but Philip's warriors had succeeded in securing muskets from the English, and many of them were excellent marksmen.

The results of this war were very serious to both sides. Of ninety towns in Massachusetts, twelve were totally ruined and forty more were seriously attacked and much property in them destroyed. More than a thousand English soldiers were killed either in battle or by torture, and many women and children were scalped and killed. During the three years of the war all New England was in constant fear of an Indian attack. The colonies were compelled to incur a heavy debt in order to meet

the expenses of the war, and it was years before this was paid off. The war was much harder on the Indians than on the English. The three tribes engaged in it were almost entirely destroyed. King Philip and Canonchet, chief of the Narragansetts, and most of the Indian warriors were killed. Large numbers of Indian women and children died, some from want of food, but many were killed by the English when on Sunday afternoon, December 19, 1675, they attacked and destroyed the fortified village of the Narragansetts and killed a thousand of their warriors. At the close of the war the Puritans sold many of the Indians into slavery in the West Indies; among those thus sold being the young son of King Philip. The commanders of the English forces were usually opposed to this unnecessarily cruel policy, but, strange as it may now seem, the Puritan ministers were among its strongest supporters.

The end of King Philip's War marks the end of Indian power in New England. This war was a cruel and desperate contest between the people of a weak race that had owned the soil and the invaders who belonged to a stronger and higher civilization. As is usually the case, the lower civilization and the weaker race were compelled to give way to the higher and more vigorous.

Under the Royal Governors

47. Massachusetts Loses Her Charter.—The quarrel between the English kings and the Massachusetts Bay Company, which resulted in the overthrow of the company's charter and government in 1684, began in 1633. In 1622 Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason were granted all the land extending from the Kennebec River in Maine to the Merrimac in Massachusetts. Later they divided this territory between them, Gorges taking what is now the state of Maine and Mason what is now the state of New Hampshire. This grant of land to Mason and Gorges is an important fact in the history of Massachusetts. These two men and their heirs frequently complained to the king that the Massachusetts Bay colony was interfering with their rights by assuming the control of this territory, and thus gave him an excuse for attacking the government of the colony.

(a) *First Attacks on the Charter.*—As early as 1633 Mason and Gorges, and some men who had been banished from the colony because they opposed the religious and political ideas of the Puritans, told the king that the people of the Massachusetts Bay colony intended to rebel and become independent. As King Charles I hated both the religious and the political ideas of the Puritans, he gladly availed himself of this excuse, and in 1635 demanded that the company's charter be annulled and surrendered. But Mason died, and Charles got into trouble with



KING CHARLES I

the English people at home over taxes, so for a time the fight against the government of the Massachusetts Bay colony was dropped. In 1638 another demand was made on the Massachusetts Bay colony for the surrender of her charter. She politely but firmly refused to comply with the demand, and as the English people were preparing to rebel against the despotic rule of the king at home, no army could be sent against the colony to compel obedience. War broke out in England in 1642 between the armies of

the king and the armies raised by Parliament.

(b) *The Confederacy and the Commonwealth.*—When the news of the war reached Massachusetts, her public officers no longer administered justice in the name of the king, nor took the oath of allegiance to him. The next year, 1643, the New England Confederacy was formed, and from that date until 1649, when the king's armies were defeated and he was beheaded, New England was practically independent of all outside power. From the death of Charles I to 1660, Oliver Cromwell and Parliament ruled England, and during this time New England continued to conduct her affairs about as she pleased, with very

little interference from the home government. Oliver Cromwell died in 1658. During his short control of affairs he had made England more respected in Europe than it had ever been before. After his death the rule of Parliament became weak and unpopular. In 1660 Charles II, son of Charles I who had been beheaded in 1649, was invited to become king.

(c) *Quarrels between King Charles II and Massachusetts.*—When this news reached New England, the Massachusetts Bay colony waited three months before sending an address to the king, and fifteen months before proclaiming him king. In 1662 Charles demanded, but very courteously, that all public officers take the oath of allegiance to him; that all laws opposed to his authority be repealed; that all those who wished to worship according to the forms of the Episcopal church be permitted to do so; and that those laws that prevented a man from voting because he was not a member of the Puritan church be repealed. The colony complied with the first demand and administered justice in the king's name, but she did not comply with the other three demands. In 1664 England sent over four commissioners to direct the capture of New York (New Netherland) from the Dutch. These commissioners were also directed to investigate conditions in the New England colonies, and especially to see whether or not the Massachusetts Bay colony was complying with the demands which had been made by King Charles. They found everything satisfactory in Connecticut and Rhode Island, but the Massachusetts Bay colony refused to give them any definite information on these subjects and finally defied them. The commissioners made a strong report to the king against the colony; but war with Holland and trouble at home compelled him to postpone action against Massachusetts until 1675.

(d) *The Charter Finally Annulled.*—The Massachusetts Bay colony had annexed New Hampshire and Maine. The heirs of the proprietors, Mason and Gorges, claimed that this territory belonged to them. In 1675 Edward Randolph was sent over to investigate these claims, to see if Massachusetts was complying with the demands made on her by the king, and to see if the people generally were satisfied with the government of the

colony. The English courts decided that the Massachusetts Bay colony had no right to the territory of either New Hampshire or Maine. But the colony did not intend to give up any of this territory, nor did it intend to permit men not members of the Puritan church to vote, or people to worship according to the forms and doctrines of the Episcopal church. Randolph reported all these things to the king, and stated that the king's orders were of no more value in Massachusetts than an article in a London newspaper.

This attitude of the colony greatly provoked King Charles, and he decided to compel it to submit. New Hampshire was made a royal province, and its governors were appointed by the king until 1776. Massachusetts was commanded to remove all religious restrictions on the suffrage and to permit the Episcopal form of worship. The demands were not complied with, and in 1684 the charter, which had been granted to the Massachusetts Bay colony in 1628, was annulled by the English courts. The next year Charles II died and his brother James became king. King James appointed Sir Edmund Andros the first royal governor of Massachusetts. Until he arrived, a temporary government was formed under Dudley, who had always lived in Massachusetts but was opposed to the Puritan ideas of church and state.

Massachusetts felt the loss of her charter keenly, for she had always enjoyed almost complete independence, making and executing such laws as she desired. It must not be supposed, however, that the people of Massachusetts had enjoyed free government in the broad sense. Only members of the Puritan church could vote, and it is said that at the time the charter was annulled more than two-thirds of the men in the Massachusetts Bay colony were not members of the Puritan church, and therefore could not vote or take any part in the government. This meant that a minority of the people governed the majority, and for this reason there were many who were not sorry when the charter was annulled.

48. The Despotic Rule of Andros.—The acts of Andros soon tended to unite the people. His rule was of the most despotic character. He even took away from the towns the right to levy

taxes, and levied and collected all taxes himself. He ordered that all deeds should be registered in Boston and that defective titles to land must be confirmed by him. Although there was nothing wrong in this, the heavy fee charged, and the threat to hold all private titles to land invalid, exasperated the people. By the English law a man arrested may demand a trial at once. Andros suspended this law, and he could then arrest innocent persons and keep them in jail for any length of time without giving them a chance to prove their innocence by a trial.

49. Rhode Island and Connecticut Secure Royal Charters.

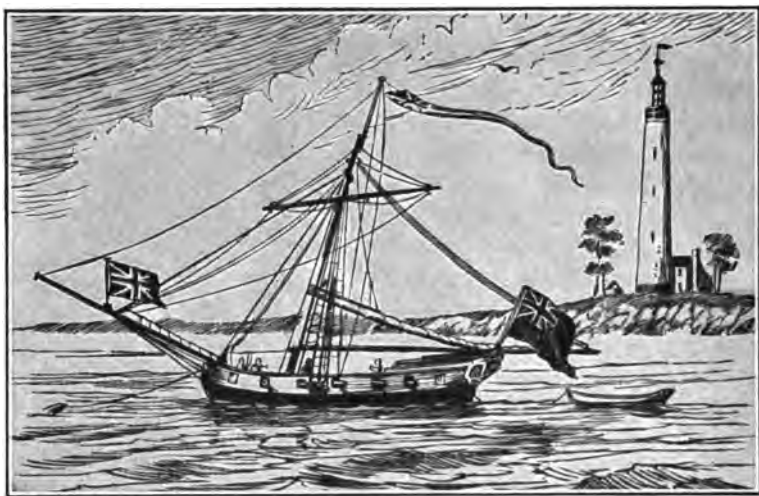
—When Connecticut and Rhode Island heard that Charles had become king, they did not do as Massachusetts had done. Each sent a pleasing and flattering address to him, and as a result each secured a charter that provided for a very liberal form of government. Under these charters the people of each colony elected their governors and members of the legislature. They could make



GOVERNOR ANDROS

any law that did not conflict with the laws of England. The Connecticut charter remained in effect until 1818, forty-two years after the colonies had become the United States, and the charter granted to Rhode Island remained in effect until 1842. Much against the will of the people of New Haven, their colony was annexed to Connecticut, and the history of New Haven as a separate colony thus came to an end in 1662. New Haven had been a strong Puritan colony, and as Charles disliked the Puritans, he was glad to annex it to Connecticut. Rhode Island and Connecticut were both forbidden to prevent any one from voting on account of his religious belief; but they did not object to this.

As King James wished to unite all the northern colonies under one man and one government, New York, New Jersey and New Hampshire were placed under Andros. A short time before, the charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut had been rescinded but not formally annulled by the English courts, and these colonies also were placed under the arbitrary rule of Andros. Fortunately for New England, the king was as despotic with his people in England as he was with his people in America.



BOSTON LIGHT HOUSE AND PROVINCE SLOOP
From a drawing made about 1712

50. Overthrow of King and Andros; Massachusetts Secures New Charter.—In 1688 the English rose in rebellion. King James fled to France, and by invitation of the English people William of Orange came over from Holland and became king of England. When the people of Massachusetts heard of the rebellion in England, they arrested Governor Andros and placed him in prison. Rhode Island and Connecticut re-established governments under their old charters, and no further attempt was made by an English king to annul these liberal charters, which the people of these two colonies loved so well. Massachusetts hoped that the new king would grant her a charter that

would provide for a liberal form of government, but she was disappointed. She was granted a new charter, however, which gave her the right to elect a legislature or law-making body, and provided that no taxes could be levied except by the legislature. The charter provided also that no man should be denied the right to vote or to take part in the government because of his religious ideas. Under the old charter the governor was elected by the people; but under the new charter he was appointed by the king. All laws enacted by the legislature had to be sent to the king for his approval before they became effective. This was not so liberal a government as that enjoyed by the people of Rhode Island and Connecticut, but the people of Massachusetts had to live under it until the Revolution, when all the colonies became independent of England. As the new charter annexed the colony of Plymouth and the territory of Maine to the Massachusetts Bay colony, the people of Plymouth and Maine also lived under the government of this charter.

51. New England from 1689 to 1776.—From 1689 to 1776 Massachusetts and New Hampshire were governed by royal governors who were appointed by the English kings, and by a legislature elected by the people. During the greater part of this time the governors and the people were quarreling about taxes and laws. All these quarrels caused the people to care less and less for the mother country and served to prepare them for complete separation from England. During this time Connecticut and Rhode Island continued to enjoy the liberal government provided by their charters, and as a rule had very little trouble with the home government.

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

New York

52. Discovery and Settlement.—As has been stated, men first came to Virginia on account of the love of adventure and to build homes for themselves and their children, while certain religious ideas brought men to New England. New York was founded purely for trading purposes. This territory was first

explored by Henry Hudson, an English sailor employed by the Dutch East India Company. In 1609 he discovered the river that now bears his name, and explored the country bordering on it. Valuable furs could be obtained very cheaply from the Indians; and the Dutch, who were traders and had established trading posts all over the world, immediately began to send settlers into this country to secure this trade.

The first settlement was made on Manhattan Island in 1614, and other towns soon sprang into existence under the direction



NEW AMSTERDAM

From a book published in Holland in 1651

of the New Netherland Company, which was organized by some of the early traders who had a monopoly of the trade for three years. Later, a larger and more powerful company, called the Dutch West India Company, was organized, and by 1626 had made settlements along the Hudson from Albany to the mouth of the river, as well as on Long Island and Manhattan Island. Manhattan Island, the site of the main part of the present city of New York, was purchased by the Dutch from the Indians in 1626 for "about twenty-four dollars' worth of beads and ribbons," the same land, not including houses, being worth now about two and three-quarter billion dollars. The entire country

was called New Netherland, and the chief town of the colony on Manhattan Island was given the name of New Amsterdam.

53. Character of Colonists and Growth of Colony.—While this territory was claimed and held by the Dutch, the settlers came from all parts of Europe. The population was very mixed; all religions were tolerated; many languages were spoken. These first settlers were not real colonists in the sense that they intended to make homes for themselves and their children. They came merely for trading. But the company wished to colonize this entire territory and to develop agriculture as well as commerce. In order to do this, an agreement was made in 1629 whereby any member of the company bringing to New Netherland fifty permanent settlers and establishing a colony was given a tract of land with sixteen miles frontage on the Hudson. The men receiving these grants were called patroons, and the estates thus granted, patroonships. While this scheme brought a good many people to the colony at the time, in the long run it proved a drawback to the growth of the entire colony, and real prosperity and healthy growth did not begin until trade was thrown open to all, and cheap ownership of land promised in small holdings. Then many excellent men and women came in from the English colonies in America and from Europe, and the country was settled rapidly. In 1655 the territory lying south of the Delaware, or South River, which had been settled by the Swedes, was conquered by the Dutch and added to New Netherland. At this time the Dutch claims extended from the Delaware to the Connecticut River, and from Albany, or Fort Orange as it was called, to Delaware Bay.

54. Government under the Dutch.—While New York was under control of the Dutch the people had very little voice in the government. The governor was appointed by the company, and although he had a council to advise him, he really had all the power of government in his own hands. Most of the governors were not able men, and in many cases they were dishonest and unprincipled. Peter Stuyvesant stands out as the ablest of them all. He was honest and energetic but very despotic and much disliked because of his harsh manner of making and enforcing laws. Although his rule was arbitrary, and he paid

little attention to the rights of the people, the colony more than doubled its wealth and population under his administration. It was under his direction that the Swedish colony at the mouth of the Delaware was conquered and annexed to New Netherland. He was not so successful, however, in enforcing the Dutch claims to the territory lying east of the Hudson, for the English colonies were too strong to allow him to advance his control to the Connecticut River.

55. The Colony under English Control: (a) *Conquest by the English.*—The New Netherland territory by its position divided the English colonies into two parts, and for that reason, as well as on account of the value of its position commercially, the English had long desired to gain possession of it. So in 1664, although England and Holland were not at war, Charles II sent over a small fleet to New Amsterdam to demand the surrender of the colony. Stuyvesant, while taken by surprise, wished to defend the city, but could not induce the settlers to make any resistance. The English



PETER STUYVESANT

After a painting in the possession of the
New York Historical Society

offered good terms, including protection of personal rights and representative government, and it is not strange that the people were glad to accept, for they had enjoyed none of these rights under Dutch rule. In 1673 the Dutch again obtained control of this territory, but held it only one year.

(b) *Under the Duke of York.*—New Netherland was granted by King Charles to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany, and the names of the colony and chief town were changed to New York, and that of Fort Orange to Albany. The duke immediately granted the southern part of the territory to two

English noblemen as a separate province, under the name of New Jersey. Richard Nicolls was made governor of New York. He drew up laws based on those of New England, but the people of the conquered territory did not have so many rights in the government as did the people of New England. The people were not allowed to elect representatives until 1683, when they received a charter providing for the election of an assembly of eighteen, which was to act with the appointed governor and council in the government of the colony. No tax could be levied



THE BATTERY, NEW YORK, IN THE 17TH CENTURY

without the consent of the assembly, but no act could become a law without the approval of the Duke of York. While this appeared to be liberal, it really amounted to nothing; for the duke was opposed to a liberal form of government, and never gave his assent to any act of the assembly.

(c) *Under the Royal Governors.*—In 1685 the duke was crowned king of England as James II, and New York thus became a royal province. The king took away the charter of the colony and placed many restrictions on the rights of the people. From this time until the Revolution the government was carried on as in the other royal colonies, that is, with a governor

and council appointed by the king and an assembly elected by the people. There was constant trouble between the assembly and the governor. At one time the opposition broke out into open rebellion, and for two years the colony was ruled by Jacob Leisler, the leader of the popular party. After this, the assembly, the law-making body elected by the people, was treated with more respect by the royal governors; but the people of the colony never had so much real influence in making laws as did the people of the other colonies.

New Jersey

56. Origin and Growth in Population.—The territory later called New Jersey was first settled by the Dutch from New Netherland, about 1617. The first settlements, however, were not of much importance in the early history of the colony. The real history of the colony began in 1664, when the English conquered New Netherland. At this time the Duke of York granted the part between New York Harbor and Delaware Bay to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, giving it the name of New Jersey. Settlers came in from New York, New England and Europe, and the province grew rapidly. The population of the colony numbered seventy-five thousand people in 1760, and by 1775 it had reached nearly one hundred thousand.

57. Political History.—When Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret received the grant of New Jersey, they established a form of government for the province by a document known as the "Concessions." This document promised religious freedom and a liberal government under a governor and council appointed by the proprietors and an assembly elected by the freemen. Because of conflicting claims and trouble in governing the colony, Lord Berkeley sold his share to the Quakers, and the province was divided into East and West Jersey. The Quakers organized the western part with a very liberal government, consisting of a body of commissioners and an assembly, both chosen by the people. East Jersey was organized with the same kind of government as the whole province had had under the "Concessions." In 1682 William Penn and some men associated with him bought

the Carterets' rights to East Jersey and became its proprietors. Both provinces were continually having trouble about their relations to the proprietors and to the king, and the people came to dislike thoroughly the proprietary form of government. In 1702 the proprietors gave up their rights, and the two provinces were united and placed directly under the control of the crown. It was governed from that time on in the same manner as New York and the other royal provinces.

Delaware

58. Settlement; Growth and Changes.—As early as 1623 attempts were made by the Dutch to settle the country along the Delaware River and the Delaware Bay, but nothing permanent was done. The first settlement of any importance in this territory was established in 1638 by Sweden on the southern bank of the river. This territory was taken by the Dutch, however, in 1655 and added to the province of New Netherland. When New Netherland in turn was conquered by the English, Delaware passed under English control. In 1682 William Penn obtained a grant to it and governed it as a part of Pennsylvania. In 1702 Delaware organized a separate legislature and became a separate province, but it remained under the governor of Pennsylvania until the colonies secured their independence.



WILLIAM PENN

Pennsylvania

59. Origin and Growth in Population.—William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, first became interested in establishing

a colony in America through his interest in the Quakers who had settled in West Jersey. Through his father, who was a rich and well-known naval officer and in high favor at the English court, William Penn had a good opportunity to become prominent in the public affairs of England; but he chose instead to become the leader of the Quakers, a religious sect that was much hated and persecuted.¹⁵ Besides his interest in the Quakers, Penn had other reasons for founding a colony in America. He had inherited a debt of about eighty thousand dollars due his father

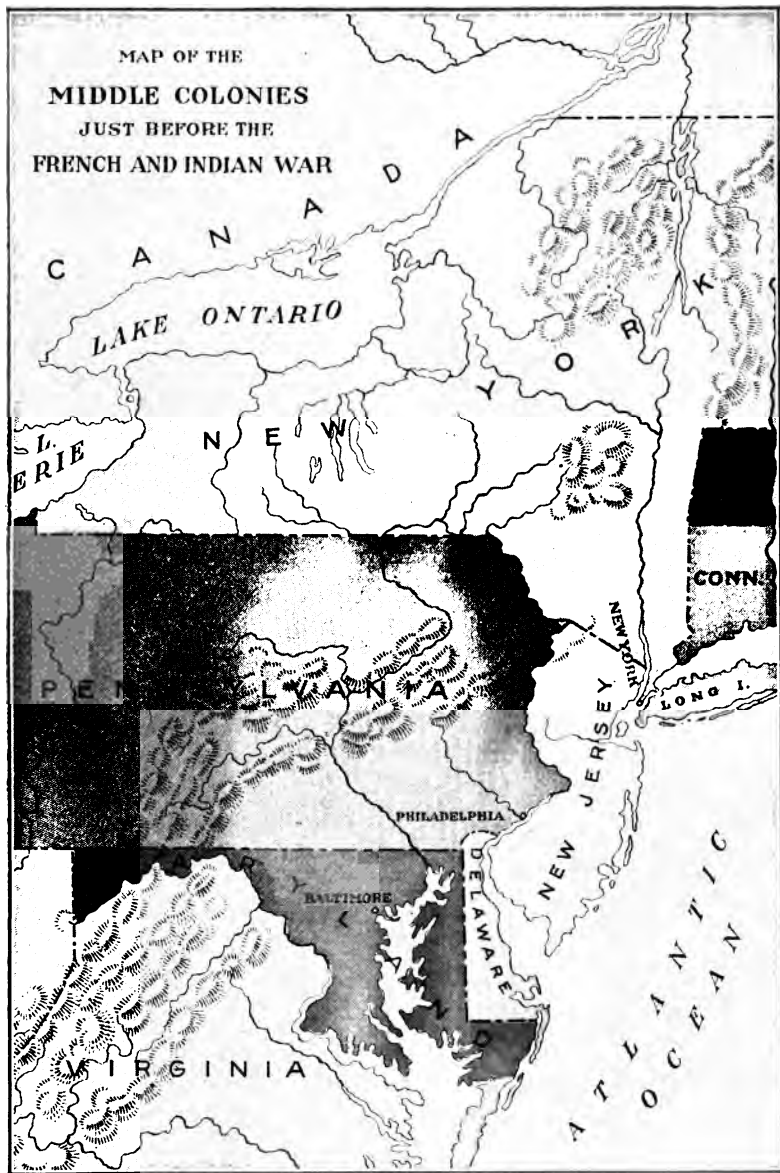


PENN MAKING A TREATY WITH THE INDIANS

from the English government. Charles II had little ready money, so Penn was glad to take in payment a grant of land.

In 1681, therefore, Charles II granted him forty thousand square miles of land extending from the Delaware River westward—almost exactly the territory now occupied by Pennsylvania. He named the territory Pennsylvania (Penn's wood-land), in honor of his father. As his colony had no sea-coast, Penn bought the rights to Delaware from the Duke of York, and governed it as part of Pennsylvania. The southern boundary of Pennsylvania was uncertain and caused many

MAP OF THE
MIDDLE COLONIES
JUST BEFORE THE
FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR



disputes with the Calverts, the proprietors of Maryland. An agreement was made in 1732 between the heirs as to the boundary, and between 1763 and 1767 the line of division was finally determined by two English surveyors, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon. This line, called the Mason and Dixon line, is famous because the line that later marked the division between free and slave territory was sometimes called by this name.

Penn put his plan before the people, promising them just government, religious freedom, protection in their personal rights and cheap land. As a result, large numbers of Quakers from England and settlers from all parts of Europe, especially Germany, came to this new territory at once, and the next year (1682) Penn himself came with a company of one hundred. Philadelphia was founded by Penn in 1683 and grew rapidly into a city. The growth of this colony was the most rapid in the history of the American colonies. By 1685 Philadelphia alone had two thousand inhabitants and the colony eight thousand. By 1750 there were about two hundred thousand people in the colony, and by 1780 the combined population of Delaware and Pennsylvania had reached four hundred thousand.

60. Government in Early Pennsylvania: (a) *Under Penn.*—When King Charles II granted Pennsylvania to William Penn, some restrictions were placed on the latter's powers of government, the most important being that all laws must be approved by the king, and that Parliament might tax the people of the province directly. These restrictions were made because there had been so much trouble with some of the other colonies on these two points. But the king did not interfere very much with the government of the colony. As soon as Penn arrived in America, he established a very democratic form of government, placing nearly all the power in the hands of the colonists. The law-making power was given to a legislature of two houses. Penn acted as governor, but did not try to keep much power, not even the right to veto acts of the legislature. Nearly all officers were elected by the people, while in Maryland and in the royal colonies they were usually appointed by the governor or king.¹⁸

Penn had some trouble with the colonists in regard to money matters, and made changes in the constitution, taking away some

of the power given them. For two years after King James was deposed, Pennsylvania was under a royal governor with New York, but Penn was restored to power at the end of this period. Delaware was dissatisfied with her share in the government, and in 1712 was granted a separate legislature, although she had the same governor as Pennsylvania.

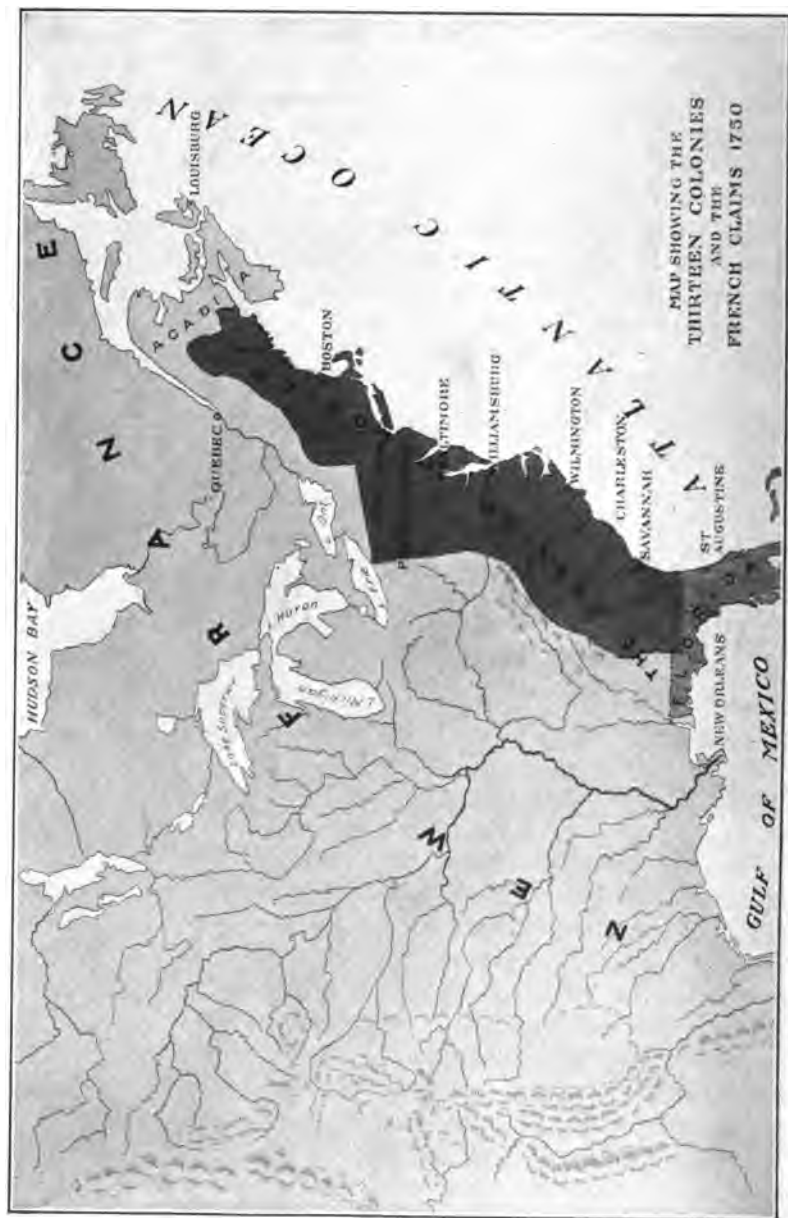
(b) *Under Deputy Governors.*—At the close of the century, just before he left America to live in England, Penn granted a new constitution. This constitution was almost as liberal as the one granted when the colony was first settled. The assembly



PENN'S SLATE-ROOF HOUSE

Penn lived in this house from 1699 to 1701; it stood until 1868

elected by the people had power to make all laws, and the governor and council appointed by the proprietor were merely advisory. When Penn left the colony in 1701, he left a deputy governor and secretary in charge. As most of the descendants of Penn preferred to live in England, only one coming to America and acting as governor, the government of the colony was carried on in this manner until the end of the colonial period. There was constant trouble between the deputy governors and the assembly in regard to making laws and raising money. It was during this period that Benjamin Franklin came into prominence as the leader of the popular party.



THE THIRTEEN COLONIES
THE FRENCH IN NORTH AMERICA

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

THE FRENCH IN NORTH AMERICA

- I. The Spanish in America
- II. French Explorations and Settlements
- III. Contrast of French and English Colonies as to Purpose of Settlement
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THE FRENCH IN NORTH AMERICA

61. The Spanish in America.—While the English colonies were being established on the Atlantic seaboard between Florida and Canada, Spain and France were planting colonies in the New World. Spain secured much territory in South America, all of Central America, Florida, Mexico, and the territory that now comprises the southwestern part of the United States, including California. The Spanish did not plant colonies in the same way, nor for the same purpose, as did the English. Their main purpose was not to establish homes, as was true of the English, but to secure the gold they hoped to find. They secured an immense amount of gold and silver in Mexico and in Central and South America. They conquered, robbed, and enslaved the half-civilized Indians of these countries. As they found no gold in any of the territory that now comprises the United States, they made but few settlements north of Mexico or in Florida. St. Augustine in Florida was founded in 1565 and Santa Fe in New Mexico in 1582. These were the first permanent settlements made in what is now the United States, but they are of little importance in American history. It was the Spanish claims to this territory, not the settlements made, that influenced American history. The defeat of the Spanish Armada weakened Spain's influence in the New World, and left the French the only serious rivals of the English in North America.

62. French Explorations and Settlements.—The French explored and settled the territory north and west of the English colonies. Cartier was the first great French explorer of this region. Between 1534 and 1544 he made several voyages to the country north of New York and New England, and explored the St. Lawrence River and the territory adjoining, but made no permanent settlements.

From 1544 to 1600 the French did very little toward exploring the country. But in 1604 Champlain, the second great French explorer, made his first visit to the territory explored by Cartier some sixty years before. From that time until his death in 1635, Champlain devoted all his time and energy to exploring and settling the country north and west of New England. He is justly called the "Father of New France." The first permanent settlement was Port Royal in Acadia, founded in 1604, three years before Jamestown was founded in Virginia. Quebec was



CHAMPLAIN

founded in 1608 and Montreal in 1611. From these early settlements in Canada, explorers and missionaries pushed on westward and southward into the region of the Great Lakes. It was by the explorers, Joliet and Marquette, that the upper part of the Mississippi was discovered and partly explored in 1673. The entire exploration of this great river was accomplished between 1679 and 1682 by La Salle, one of the greatest of the early explorers. He had partially explored the Illinois and Ohio rivers, and on complet-

ing his voyage down the Mississippi he claimed all the territory drained by these rivers and their tributaries for France, and named it Louisiana in honor of the French king, Louis XIV.

The French Claims in North America in 1682 included, therefore, all the territory from the Appalachian to the Rocky Mountains, the region of the Great Lakes, and the country to the north of these lakes and of the English colonies, including Nova Scotia and Newfoundland (see map on back of page 81).

63. Purpose of French Settlement; Contrast with the English.¹⁷—The French settlements in North America were of

a more permanent nature than those of the Spanish, but they were not like those of the English. The difference between the French and English colonies was due largely to the difference in the purpose of settlement. The English built up their colonies for the purpose of making homes—for the purpose of creating a little England on this side of the ocean. They brought all their institutions with them, and insisted on having all the rights that Englishmen in England had. They considered themselves just as much Englishmen as if they were living in England. The French settlements were more like military and trading posts than real colonies. The French came to America for the money to be derived from the fisheries and fur trade, and for the purpose of converting the Indians and gaining more territory for France. They made no real effort to build up in the New World the farming and city life of France, and with the exception of Acadia no important farming community was established. The French colonists had practically no political rights. They were ruled by a military governor appointed by the king, whose main object was to develop the fur trade and lay claim to as much territory as possible for the French king. The explorers buried leaden plates throughout the Mississippi and Ohio valleys, on which were written statements claiming the territory for France. While the French were thus extending their claims over this vast territory, the English were quietly building up strong and prosperous farming communities on their strip of land along the Atlantic coast. The territory occupied by the English colonies was small compared with the vast territory claimed by the French, and yet, when the English defeated the French in the struggle for supremacy and compelled France to surrender all of Canada and the territory east of the Mississippi, the total French population in all the French possessions in North America was less than one hundred thousand, while the population of the English colonies had reached almost two millions. This great difference in population was the direct result of the difference in purpose that the French and English had in planting colonies in the New World.

64. Relations of French and Indians:¹⁸ (a) *Value of Indian Friendship.*—The fact that the French did not establish colonies

for the same purpose as the English, but wished mainly to secure the fur trade, had an important effect on their relations with the Indians. The products of the farms and the fisheries, and the trade in these products and those of other countries, were the source of wealth and prosperity in the English colonies. The welfare of the English did not depend to any great extent on the friendship of the Indians, except as it might prevent the Indians from attacking the frontier settlements. It was different with the French. Their welfare depended largely on the fur trade, and as the Indians controlled most of this, it was necessary for the French to be on friendly terms with them. The small French trading stations were far apart and scattered over a large territory. If the Indians in this territory were not friendly, they could easily destroy these trading posts and greatly injure the French fur trade.

(b) *Enmity of Iroquois; Effect on Colonial History.*—When Champlain explored the country along the St. Lawrence and between this river and Lake Huron, he found it occupied by two tribes of Indians, the Algonquins and the Hurons. The fur trade of this region depended on the friendship of these Indians, and Champlain naturally desired to secure this friendship. He was very glad, therefore, to assist the Algonquins in a fight against another tribe of Indians. The Algonquins won an easy victory because their foes had never seen a white man nor heard a gun discharged. The battle was a very small affair, but it had a very important effect on the future of the French and English colonies. The Indians whom Champlain helped the Algonquins to defeat belonged to the Iroquois, or Five Nations, a confederacy of five Indian tribes. This was the most powerful Indian confederacy in North America and was composed of the Senecas, Oneidas, Mohawks, Onondagas and Cayugas. The battle in which the Iroquois were defeated by the Algonquins, aided by Champlain, made the Iroquois lasting enemies of the French and the friends of the English. As the Iroquois occupied the territory between the St. Lawrence country and the English on the seaboard, the French were compelled to establish their trading posts to the west and south. The Iroquois, therefore, prevented the French from occupying the present state of New

York, and from coming in contact with the English. But if the Iroquois had been friendly with the French, there is no good reason to suppose that the French alone would have been able to do much harm to the English settlements, because the English colonists were always more numerous than the French, and were amply able to take care of themselves. The English would have had much more to fear from the Iroquois. The importance of Champlain's battle with the Iroquois, therefore, was the fact that it made these Indians the friends of the English and the enemies of the French.

(c) *French Success in Dealing with the Indians.*—Had it not been for the battle referred to above, the French very likely would have succeeded in winning the friendship of the Iroquois and in using this strong confederacy against the English, for the



AN EARLY FRENCH FORT

French were very successful in making friends of the Indian tribes in the territory they claimed. In fact, their ability to make allies of the Indians was the real source of their power. The French traders and missionaries treated the Indians with respect and in many cases adopted their customs; while the English, on the other hand, treated them with open contempt as an inferior race. Throughout colonial history in North America the French, as a rule, were more successful than the English in dealing with the Indians.

65. Early Conflicts Between the French and English:

(a) *Conditions Making Conflict Inevitable.*—While the attitude of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, served to keep the English and French settlements apart for a while, and compelled the French to advance in another direction, it could not prevent the final conflict between the French and the English over the control of North America. It became the definite policy of France to claim as much of North America as possible. In addition to burying leaden plates throughout this territory, proclaiming their possession, the French built forts or trading posts so as to be able to say that they really occupied the country. The English, as has already been stated, came to the New World for the purpose of making homes. They cared very little how much territory France claimed as long as they had enough for farming purposes, and as long as the French did not attempt to establish a trading post east of the Appalachian Mountains.

A conflict between the French and English, however, was sure to come, because the English, as soon as they had occupied all the territory east of the Appalachians, began to pass over these mountains into the Ohio Valley. When the English began to do this, it became necessary for France and England to settle the question as to which of them should control North America. If the English occupied the Ohio Valley, the French in Canada would be separated from the French in the southern part of the Mississippi Valley. This would overthrow all of the French plans for a great empire in the New World, and France would not permit this without fighting. The French had long seen, more clearly than the English, that this conflict must come, and when the English settlers began to cross the Alleghanies, France knew she must either drive them back or abandon her plans and aspirations for colonial empire in the New World. France decided to settle the question by war, and in the spring of 1754 began the conflict that resulted in the total loss to her of all this vast territory, and that made the English supreme in North America.

(b) *Conditions Leading to English Success.*—From the time the first settlements were made there was never any real question as to which would finally win in this contest. France could not

check the slow but steady and substantial advance of the English into the territory she claimed, but did not settle, unless she destroyed the English colonies. This the French could not do, because during nearly all the colonial period there were twenty Englishmen in America to every Frenchman. The attempt of a colonial French army to subdue or march through the English colonies would have resulted in its total destruction. France could and did send soldiers to America, but England did the same. The English colonists were a free, brave, and determined people. A few years later they destroyed several British armies and won their independence. France, certainly, could not defeat in the New World both England and her colonists. The French military occupation could not withstand the home-building English policy.

(c) *King William's, Queen Anne's and King George's Wars.*—Although the final struggle between France and England for the control of North America did not begin until 1754,



FRENCH FUR TRADERS ON A CANADIAN RIVER

the French and English colonists, and the Indian allies of each, had been fighting twenty-six years. These twenty-six years of fighting included three different wars. The first, named after King William of England, was known in America as King William's War, and lasted from 1689 to 1697; the second, named after Queen Anne of England, was known as Queen Anne's War, and lasted from 1701 to 1713; the third, named after King George of England, was known in America as King George's War, and lasted from 1745 to 1748. All three of these wars began in Europe, and were caused by trouble between France and England in Europe. They were not caused by anything that happened in America. When the mother countries were at war, it was perfectly natural that the colonists, their children in North

America, should also do some fighting, but in America the results were not very important. In each war the French and their Indian allies destroyed some of the English settlements on the frontier and massacred the settlers, women and children as well as men. Some of these were slowly burned to death or tortured in other ways.

In King William's War the French defeated the Iroquois and weakened their fighting power, but their strength was nearly restored when the Tuscaroras, a kindred tribe in North Carolina,



THE FORTRESS OF LOUISBURG

From an engraving published in 1760

came north and joined them. After this the Iroquois were known as the Six Nations. During this war the English colonists tried to capture Quebec and Montreal, but were not successful.

During Queen Anne's War the English captured Acadia and changed its name to Nova Scotia. It has ever since belonged to England. During King George's War four thousand men from New England, with the assistance of some British war ships, captured Louisburg. This fortress was on Cape Breton Island, and its capture was a great surprise to both France and England, because, next to Quebec, it was the strongest fortress in America.

After the war England gave it back to France. This caused great dissatisfaction among the English colonists, and especially among those of New England.

As the result of these three wars, all that the English in America secured was Nova Scotia and some military training. The French secured no new territory to offset the loss of Nova Scotia. These wars consisted largely of fruitless bloodshed and murder on the English frontiers.

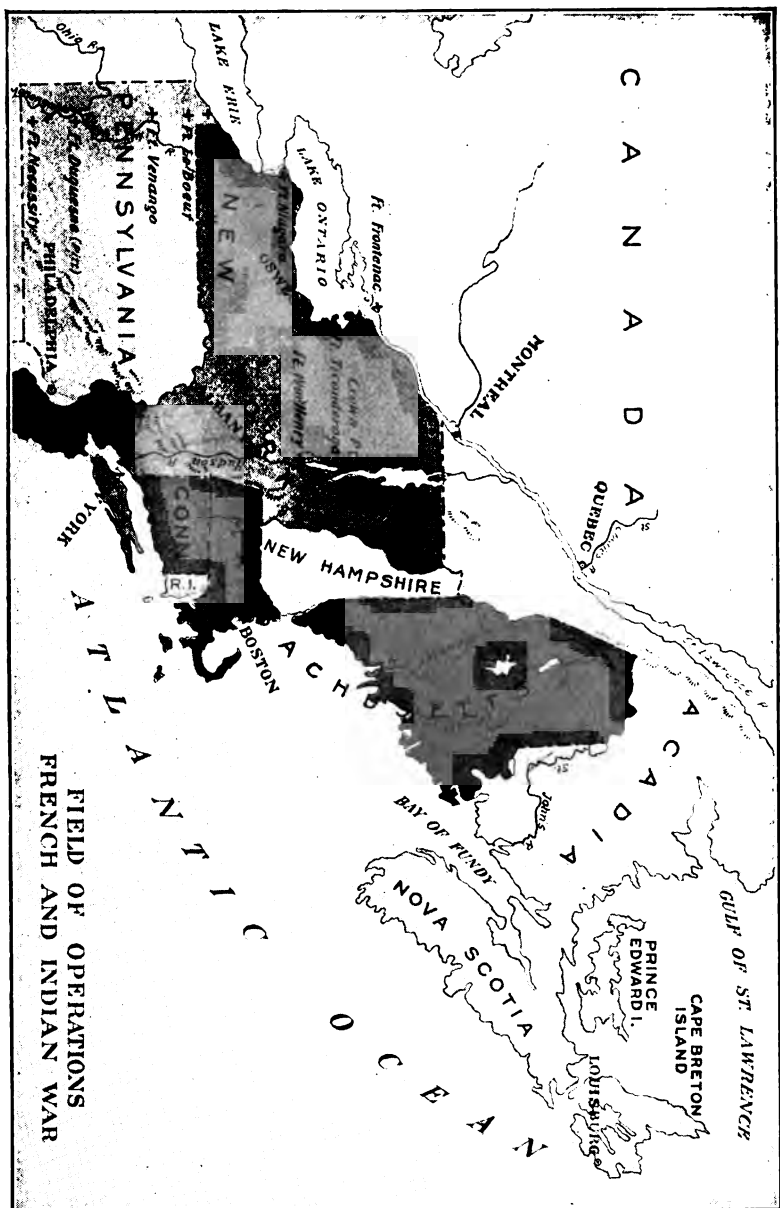
The French and Indian War

66. Scope and General Results.—The fourth and last war between the French and the English in the New World began, not in Europe, as had the other three, but in North America. It was caused by the conditions already discussed. The first battle of this war was fought in 1754. This was two years before war was formally declared between France and England, and during this time several more battles were fought. In 1756 the war between the French and the English in America became a part of one of the greatest wars of modern times. England and Frederick the Great of Prussia united against France, Spain, Austria and Russia. In Europe this war was known as the Seven Years' War, and lasted from 1756 to 1763. In America it was known as the French and Indian War, and lasted from 1754 to 1763. In a most heroic struggle, Frederick the Great, aided by England, was a match for his combined enemies in Europe, and by the treaty signed by all the nations engaged in the war Prussia did not lose a foot of territory. The war was most disastrous to France. It temporarily ended French colonial empire, but France has since secured some valuable colonial possessions. She lost all her possessions in North America, and nearly all of those in India. England secured the greater part of the territory that France lost, and gained more by the war than any other nation.¹⁹

67. Beginnings: (a) *French and English in the Ohio Valley.*—As has already been stated, the condition that caused the beginning of the final conflict between the French and the English over the control of North America was the passing of the

English over into the Ohio Valley. In 1750 the Ohio Company was organized in Virginia. The object of this company was to settle the lands in the Ohio Valley and to secure the rich fur trade west of the Appalachian Mountains. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia and two brothers of George Washington were interested in this company. In 1750 it surveyed the lands as far as the present city of Louisville, Kentucky. The French at once saw the real meaning of all this, and decided to drive the English back over the mountains. They had already built a few forts in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, thus connecting, in a loose way, their possessions along the Mississippi with those in the St. Lawrence Valley. In 1753 they began to build a series of forts, extending from the southern shore of Lake Erie almost due south to where Pittsburg now stands, at the point where the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers unite to form the Ohio. After they had built three of these forts, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent George Washington to request them to proceed no farther south, as the territory belonged to the English. Washington delivered this warning to the French commander, who was at the second fort, and although he treated Washington with the greatest courtesy, he very naturally paid no attention to the warning.

(b) *Washington's Defeat.*—In the spring of 1754, after completing the third fort, the French moved south to build the fourth, on the site of the present city of Pittsburg. When they arrived they found a small party of Englishmen busily engaged in constructing a fort. These the French drove away and built a fort they called Duquesne, in honor of Duquesne, the governor of New France. Virginia at once sent three hundred men to drive the French away from this fort. The English troops were commanded by Colonel Fry, and Washington, with the rank of major, was second in command. On the march Fry became sick and Washington assumed the command. As the English approached the fort, they were met at a place called Great Meadows by a much larger force of French soldiers. Washington hurriedly built a fort, and called it Fort Necessity. The French attacked this fort, and Washington, after resisting the attack for the larger part of a day, was compelled to surrender



his little army. This was Washington's first and only surrender. By the terms of surrender the English were permitted to march out with the honors of war and to return to Virginia. This battle was the beginning of the French and Indian War.

The defeat of Washington was of itself a small affair, but the results were very important. It naturally caused the Indians in the Ohio Valley to join the French. This meant murder and massacres along the English frontier in Pennsylvania, Mary-

land and Virginia. It meant also that the English would be restricted to the seaboard, unless they could defeat the French in the pending war.

68. Weakness of Colonial Organization.—The royal governors, especially Dinwiddie of Virginia and Shirley of Massachusetts, realizing that the situation was very serious, wished to organize an army at once and invade French territory. They asked England for soldiers, and she sent over one thousand to Virginia, under General Braddock. They asked the colonies for soldiers and money, but the legislatures were slow in voting either, and seemed



GOVERNOR SHIRLEY

After an engraving in the collection
of the Bostonian Society

to care very little whether or not the French were attacked. If the French had invaded the colonies, the colonists would have risen as one man and driven them out; but as long as the French remained on the other side of the Appalachian Mountains, the English settlers seemed little concerned. There were a few of the colonists, however, who understood the real importance of the situation. The colonies were asked to send delegates to a convention, for the purpose of adopting some plan that would result in all the colonies uniting against the French. The

convention met at Albany, New York, and is known as the Albany Congress. Benjamin Franklin proposed a plan of union that would have created a strong central government, with power to provide for the common defense of the colonies. The congress adopted this plan, but all the colonies rejected it. Thus, at the beginning of an important war, there was no central power in the colonies that could raise money and troops. The legislature of each colony could do as it pleased in the matter, while all of New France was united under the absolute control of the governor general.²⁰

69. English Re-

verses: (a) *Braddock's Defeat*.—The

colonies, however, increased Braddock's force to about twenty-two hundred men, and sent an expedition against the French in the Niagara River country, and one against the French forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point on

Lake Champlain. With his army of about twenty-two hundred men Braddock began his march on Fort Duquesne. On July 9, 1755, after about a month's march over mountains and through dense forests, Braddock, with some fifteen hundred soldiers, arrived within a few miles of the fort. The French and their Indian allies knew of the English advance, and came out from Fort Duquesne to surprise them in the great forest that covered the country. Without warning the advance guards of the two armies met in



GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE

After the portrait painted by Ramsay in 1760

the narrow path that led to the fort. One of the first shots killed the brave French commander. The French and Indians hid behind trees on each side of the road, and the Virginia soldiers did the same. The English regulars would have done this also had not General Braddock compelled them to remain in battle line, as they would have done if fighting in Europe. The French and Indians partly surrounded the English, and, protected by the trees, killed or wounded all but four hundred and fifty-nine. Braddock was mortally wounded, and Washington, who was second in command, conducted the retreat from the field. Colonel Dunbar, who took command of the defeated army, retreated to Philadelphia for winter quarters, although it was now the middle of summer. His conduct was severely criticised by Washington and Governor Dinwiddie, who wished to renew the fighting as soon as possible. The English defeat was due to Braddock's determination to fight as he had been accustomed to fighting in Europe. If he had permitted the English regulars to get behind trees, as did the Indians and the French, the result might have been different.

(b) *Other English Defeats.*—The expedition against Niagara was a complete failure. The one against the French forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point was but a partial success. These failures and Braddock's defeat, which permitted the destruction of the settlements on the English frontier in Pennsylvania, New York and Virginia, aroused the colonies and the home government in England. In May, 1756, England declared war on France, and sent over to America more soldiers and new generals. France also sent over more soldiers under General Montcalm. Montcalm was an admirable man and one of the ablest generals of France. The English generals were no match for him. In 1756 he captured Oswego on Lake Ontario, and secured control of the lake. During the next year he captured Fort William Henry at the southern end of Lake George. After the English surrendered, the Indian allies of the French murdered and scalped more than two hundred of them. Montcalm did all he could to protect the English prisoners, but he could not save all of them. It was the most cowardly and contemptible act committed during the war. "To Montcalm it was an abiding grief."

70. The War Under William Pitt: (a) *His Vigorous Policy.*—The year 1757 marked the high tide of French success. In June of that year William Pitt became Prime Minister of England. He had charge of all English military operations in all parts of the world. He was a man of great ability—the greatest war minister England has ever had—and enjoyed the confidence of the English people at home and in the colonies. He began at once to reorganize the military plans of England. One of the first things he did was to recall all but one of the inefficient generals who had been sent to America, and appoint others. Amherst, an able general, was made commander in chief, and among his able assistants were Wolfe and Howe, both of whom were killed during the war. Pitt was determined to drive the French out of America, and for this purpose raised an army of fifty thousand, twenty-five thousand of these soldiers being furnished by the colonies. This was by far the largest army that had ever been assembled in North America, and this active and vigorous policy at once began to secure excellent results.²¹

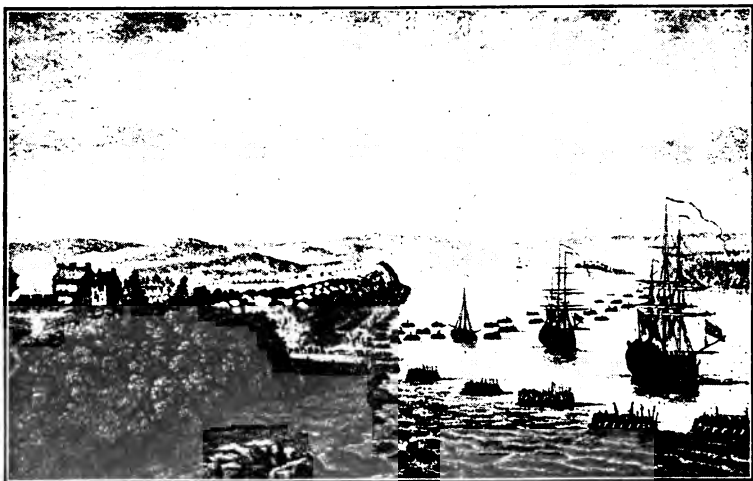


WILLIAM PITT

After a painting in the National
Portrait Gallery, London

(b) *Capture of Louisburg and Forts Frontenac and Duquesne.*—With the exception of the disastrous defeat of the incompetent Abercrombie at Fort Ticonderoga, which was defended by Montcalm, the English armies were successful from the beginning of 1758. General Amherst, with the assistance of Wolfe and Admiral Boscawen, undertook the capture of Louisburg. They hurled against that strong fortress sixteen thousand five hundred soldiers, and twenty-three English battle-ships. On July 26, 1758, after a siege of forty-eight days, and

an heroic defense by the French, the fortress surrendered. The capture of Louisburg removed a danger from New England, and gave the English a base from which to carry on operations for the capture of Quebec. It also made it possible for the English to attack with more vigor the French forts on the New York and Pennsylvania frontiers. On August 27, General Bradstreet, with about three thousand men from New England, crossed Lake Ontario and captured Fort Frontenac. The capture of this fort made it difficult for the French to get supplies and soldiers to Fort Duquesne. This was fortunate for the English, for



THE TAKING OF QUEBEC, 1759
After a drawing by Captain Harvey Smyth

General Forbes, with the assistance of Washington and Boquet, was leading an army against that fort. When the English reached Fort Duquesne in November, the French army had deserted and partly destroyed it. The English rebuilt the fort and called it Fort Pitt. From the traders' cabins around the fort the present city of Pittsburg has grown.

(c) *The Capture of Quebec.*—During the year 1759 the English captured the city of Quebec and Forts Niagara and Ticonderoga. The next year they captured the city of Montreal. These victories completed the overthrow of French power on

the North American continent. The most dramatic event of the war was the capture of Quebec. The young and able General Wolfe commanded the English forces. The French forces were commanded by the gallant and able General Montcalm. Each of these men was kind, considerate and of admirable character. Each loved his country, and both knew that the capture of Quebec by the English meant the end of the war and the destruction of French power in North America. The city of Quebec is situated on the point of land between the rivers St. Lawrence and St. Charles, where the two rivers meet, the river St. Lawrence at this point really being an extension of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The cliff on which the city stands is about two hundred feet high and has very steep faces. Back of the city, where the strip of land becomes wider, lie what are called the Plains of Abraham. The city, which was thus so strong by nature of its location, was well fortified and so carefully guarded by Montcalm that Wolfe spent all of July and August in a vain effort to form some plan of attack. It looked to him as though he must give up the attempt, when one day



WOLFE

he saw a dim path leading up the steep cliff. This path was about two miles from the city and led from the St. Lawrence River up to the Plains of Abraham. On September 12, the English war vessels, in order to deceive Montcalm, bombarded the city furiously and pretended to be preparing to land troops on the St. Charles side of the city. Soon after midnight Wolfe and thirty-six hundred of his soldiers began to climb up the little path on the St. Lawrence side. In the morning Montcalm was much surprised to find an English army drawn up in battle line on the Plains

of Abraham. He at once led his troops in an attack that resulted in his defeat and the surrender of Quebec a few days later.

(d) *Death of Wolfe and Montcalm.*—Montcalm and Wolfe were both mortally wounded. When told while dying that the English were successful, Wolfe said, "Now God be praised, I shall die in peace." When Montcalm was told he would soon die, he said, "So much the better, I am happy that I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." Thus died two of the ablest generals of the French and Indian War. The one was never



MONTCALM

After an oil painting now in possession
of the Montcalm family

again to see England or the sweetheart whom he was soon to have married; the other was never again to see France or his wife and children whom he loved dearly.

(e) *Treaty of Peace; Results of the War.*—Although the last battle of the French and Indian War was fought in the year 1760, the treaty of peace was not signed until the end of the Seven Years' War, which was in 1763. England received all the territory east of the Mississippi except the strip of land on which New Orleans stands. Spain received

this strip of land and all the territory west of the great river, and in 1783 England returned Florida to her. France retained nothing in North America except two small islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The results of the war made it plain that the language and institutions of England would be supreme in North America. The English colonies could now develop in peace in so far as any foreign nation was concerned. The war brought about conditions that helped to bring on the Revolution, and the training the colonists received in this contest with the French prepared them for the conflict with the mother country.



Benj. Franklin

THE CONCORD FIGHT

By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world.

The foe long since in silence slept,
Alike the conqueror silent sleeps;
And Time the ruined bridge has swept
Down the dark stream which seaward creeps.

On this green bank, by this soft stream,
We set today a votive stone,
That memory may their deed redeem,
When, like our sires, our sons are gone.

Spirit, that made those heroes dare
To die, and leave their children free,
Bid Time and Nature gently spare
The shaft we raise to them and thee.

—Ralph Waldo Emerson

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THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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CAUSES AND BEGINNINGS

Causes of the Revolution ²²

71. King George's Opposition to Popular Government.—

George III was king of England from 1760 to 1820. He became king three years before the treaty of peace was signed that ended the French and Indian War and that gave to England all of Canada. King George was determined actually to rule England and her colonies, and not merely to reign and be called king. He did not believe in popular government, and was determined that his authority should be supreme. It must be said that he wished to rule in the interests of his people, but he was not willing that they should rule themselves. In order to carry out his plans successfully, he saw that it would be necessary to overcome most unfavorable conditions. He could not make laws, because the principle had become firmly established that no power in England, except Parliament, could do that.

In order really to govern England and her colonies, it was therefore necessary for him, in one way or another, to get control of Parliament; and this he proceeded to do. The man who represents the majority in the House of Commons, and really directs the legislation of Parliament and is the real head of the English government, is called the Prime Minister. The king has the right to select the Prime Minister, but this officer cannot hold his position unless he has the support of the majority of the members of Parliament, and especially of the majority in the House of Commons. Ever since he had become king, George had put forth every effort to secure a Parliament that would do as he desired, and that would support any Prime Minister whom he might appoint. By bribery at election, and by granting favors to members of Parliament, he gradually succeeded in doing this. By 1770 he had gained complete control of Parliament, and then appointed Lord North Prime Minister. Lord North was a man who would carry out his wishes. King George was now in a position to rule as well as reign, provided his subjects in England and in America were willing to submit to his

rule. It soon became plain that they were not. The Americans took up arms in defense of the ancient liberties of Englishmen. The result was the complete defeat of the king and his ideas of government. Never since then has a king of England attempted to rule as well as reign.

72. General Cause; Attempt to Overthrow Right of Taxation.—As indicated above, the American Revolution was caused by the attempt of King George and his Parliament to take away from the Americans the rights of Englishmen. While King George has been justly held responsible for the Revolution, he did not begin the policy that finally drove the colonies into rebellion. The French and Indian War had cost England a large amount of money. After this war it became necessary to maintain soldiers in Canada and among the Indians. This meant a constant expense to the English government. The French and Indian War was of great value to the colonies as well as to England, and the English soldiers maintained in Canada after the war were also of great value to the colonies. Parliament very naturally thought that the Americans should bear part of the expense. It was certainly right for the colonies to do this. Parliament, however, should have asked the colonies to raise their share of the money by taxing themselves; but instead of doing this it proceeded to tax the colonies by levying a home, or internal, tax on them.

(a) *Representation of the Colonists in Parliament.*—The Americans considered this a violation of the right of taxation. They claimed that Parliament had no right to tax them, because they were not represented in that body. But many Englishmen insisted that the Americans were represented in Parliament fully as much as many people in England were. There was much truth in this, because more than half the men in England could not vote for any member of Parliament, and even some large cities had no representative in that body. The Americans, however, were not accustomed to this kind of representation. In each colony every man who had a small amount of property could vote for members of the legislature. The legislatures of the colonies were the only bodies in which the Americans ever claimed to be represented. They never even desired to send a representa-

tive to Parliament. When all the conditions in the colonies are considered, it is evident that the Americans were right when they said that they were not represented in Parliament.

(b) *English Support for the American Cause.*—The greatest statesmen in England agreed with them, and the direct taxes on the Americans would have been removed, and no further attempts to tax them would have been made, had it not been for the attitude of King George.

While he did not suggest these taxes in the first place, he thought this a good opportunity to destroy popular government in America. If he could succeed in taxing the Americans without their consent, he thought he might be better able to destroy the right of taxation in England and carry out there his other ideas of government. At first he succeeded in deceiving most of the people of England, and secured a majority of Parliament; but the greatest statesmen in England understood his object, strongly opposed his policy, and defended the American cause as their own throughout the Revolution.



KING GEORGE III

73. English Control of Colonial Commerce: (a) *Navigation Acts.*—The first attempt to overthrow English rights in the colonies after George became king was in 1761. The English government had enacted trade laws known as Navigation Acts. From 1650 to 1770 about twenty-five of these laws were passed. The object of the Navigation Acts was to give the people of England control of the commerce of both England and her colonies. One of these laws provided that no goods of any kind that were produced in Asia, Africa or the New World could be shipped into

England or her colonies except in English ships or in ships owned by her colonists. Another one of these laws levied a very high tax or duty on all goods shipped into the colonies from any country except England. This law levied such a high duty that if the people in the colonies had obeyed it, they would have been compelled to buy nearly all their supplies in England except those produced at home. The Americans imported a large amount of goods from the West Indies. This law meant that all these goods must first be shipped across the ocean to England, or to some English port, and then back across the ocean again to the colonies. These and other laws regulating commerce were enacted by Parliament at the request of English merchants who acted as though the colonies existed for the purpose of making them richer. As a matter of fact, these laws did not benefit the English merchants, because the Americans did not obey them. They smuggled goods into the colonies under the very noses of the revenue officers, and assisted the merchants of other nations to do the same thing. While the Navigation Acts annoyed the Americans, they admitted that Parliament had the right to regulate the commerce of the Empire. But if these laws had been strictly enforced, there would very likely have been trouble long before the Revolution.

(b) *Writs of Assistance*.²⁸—In 1761 the English government decided to enforce the Navigation Acts. In order to do this it was necessary for the revenue officers to enter private houses and search for smuggled goods. But an officer, in order to enter a private house for this purpose, must have a warrant of some kind from a court or similar body. A revenue officer at Boston applied to the Superior Court for a general warrant, which was called Writ of Assistance. To issue a general warrant, which would permit an officer to enter anybody's house and search it, violated a right that, as has already been stated, the English people prized very highly. They were willing that a special warrant, which named the house to be searched and the goods to be secured, might be issued, but they were strongly opposed to general warrants. James Otis went before the Superior Court at Boston and argued that the general warrant, or Writ of Assistance, should not be issued to the revenue officer, because

to do so would violate English rights and English liberties. But as a law of Parliament gave the court the power to issue these Writs of Assistance, they were issued. Although it seems that these general warrants were never used by the officers, the Americans contended that the mere issuing of them had violated one of their sacred rights, and this tended to create in the colonies a strong feeling against the Navigation Acts.

74. Taxation Without Representation.—The object of the strict enforcement of the Navigation Acts after 1760 was to make the colonies of more value to English merchants and to the business interests of England. In addition to the benefit that English merchants would receive from the strict enforcement of these acts, Parliament, as has already been stated, decided to have the colonies pay a part of the expense necessary to maintain soldiers in Canada and in the other territory lately secured from France.

(a) *The Stamp Act and the Stamp Act Congress.*—Instead of asking the colonies to raise their share by taxing themselves, Parliament, in 1765, levied a home tax in each of the thirteen colonies. This tax is known as the Stamp Act, because it required that legal papers and documents must be stamped, and that the person who had this done must pay a certain amount for each paper stamped. Different kinds of documents were stamped in



OLD SOUTH CHURCH, BOSTON
Many important public meetings were
held here

different ways, and the amount charged varied. This was the first attempt of the English government to levy a home tax in the colonies. It was a direct violation of the right of taxation, and this violation was of a very dangerous nature. If Parliament could levy a tax in the colonies for the purpose of raising money to be used in America, it also had a right to levy a tax in the colonies for the purpose of raising money to be used in England. The Americans saw at once, and saw clearly, the effect of the Stamp Act on the great principle of the right of taxation.

The news of the passage of this act was received in America with deep concern and indignation. There at once grew up in the colonies a determination to prevent the Stamp Act from going into effect. The ancestors of the Americans had often made war on the king to establish the great principle that there should be no taxation without representation, and the Americans were now preparing to do the same thing. The legislature of Virginia was the first one to take formal action. Patrick Henry introduced in the House of Burgesses resolutions declaring that the Stamp Act was a violation of English liberty, and that the people of Virginia were not bound to obey any such law. Massachusetts was the next colony to take action. Its legislature invited the other colonies to send delegates to a congress in order that the colonies might agree on some plan for united action against the Stamp Act. Nine colonies elected delegates, and the four that did not were as strongly in favor of united action. The delegates met in New York, and this meeting is known as the Stamp Act Congress. This Congress passed resolutions declaring that Americans possessed all the rights of Englishmen, and that Parliament therefore could not tax them, because they were not represented in that body but in the legislatures of the colonies. The Congress addressed petitions and memorials to the king and to Parliament, in which these rights were stated and courteous requests made that they be not violated. Meanwhile the excitement among the people had become greater and greater. As soon as the names of those who were to have charge of the stamps became known, the people forced them to resign. In New York and Boston there were riots and destruction of property. The Stamp Act was to go into effect

November 1, 1765; but when that time arrived there was not a stamp officer in the colonies, and therefore no one had authority to sell the stamps. As a result the hated Stamp Act never went into effect.

The strong opposition of the Americans was a great surprise to the English people and the English government. Parliament saw that the Stamp Act could not be enforced without war, and the merchants of London were requesting its repeal because it was injuring their trade with the colonies. A short time before the date set for the Stamp Act to go into effect, the king had appointed Rockingham Prime Minister. Rockingham did not approve of the Stamp Act, and did not care to attempt its enforcement by the use of soldiers. He therefore asked Parliament to repeal it. The debate on its repeal was able and fierce. William Pitt declared in the House of Commons that for Parliament to force the colonies to pay a home or internal tax might result in the overthrow of liberty in England, and that he therefore rejoiced that America had resisted it. The result of the debate was the repeal of the Stamp Act. The repeal was hailed with great rejoicing in America. The legislatures passed resolutions of thanks to the king, and the people expressed their delight by bonfires and celebrations.

(b) *The Declaratory Act and the Townshend Acts.*—The Americans, however, had very little good reason for rejoicing. Parliament had not acknowledged the principle that it could not tax them. When the Stamp Act was repealed, another act, called the Declaratory Act, was passed. In this act Parliament stated that it had the right to legislate for the colonies on all questions, which meant that it claimed the right to levy taxes in the colonies whenever it so desired. The very next year it levied another series of taxes, and enacted other laws that asserted its power and its intention to interfere with the internal affairs of the colonies. These taxes and acts are known as the Townshend Acts, because Townshend, who was the real leader in the House of Commons at this time, proposed them and secured their adoption. These new laws did not levy any internal taxes, as did the Stamp Act, but they levied import duties. They required that a duty be paid on all tea, wine, oil, lead, glass, paper and painters' colors

that might be brought into the colonies from other countries. For more than a hundred years England had placed a tax on various kinds of goods brought into the colonies, and the Americans had never offered any very serious objections. But these taxes had always been levied for the purpose of enforcing the trade laws, or Navigation Acts, and not for the purpose of raising revenue. The total amount secured from these import duties had not been half enough to pay the salaries of the officers who collected them. The new duties imposed by the Townshend Acts were created for the purpose of raising a revenue, and not merely for the purpose of enforcing the trade laws. Some of the money to be raised by these duties, or taxes, was to be used for paying the salaries of the royal governors and highest judges of the colonies. The object of this was to make these officers independent of the Americans, so that they could better enforce the laws and desires of Parliament. The Townshend Acts did not stop merely with the question of taxes. They provided that general search warrants, or Writs of Assistance, should be granted; and that those who might be accused of violating the import tax laws could be tried and condemned by a court without a jury trial. When it enacted the Townshend Acts, Parliament also made a law that suspended the New York legislature, because it had not provided for the English troops quartered in the city of New York. Thus Parliament at one stroke violated the right of taxation; the right to be free from general warrants in time of peace; the right to be free from quartering troops in time of peace; and the right of trial by jury. As though it were not enough to violate these four sacred English rights, Parliament a little later threatened to take Americans who might be charged with certain offenses to England for trial.

It now became evident that Parliament, under the direction of King George, had decided to rule the Americans without their consent, even if to do so required the violation of all the more important English rights and liberties. The legislature of Massachusetts sent a circular letter to the legislatures of the other colonies, in which it suggested unity of action in opposition to these offensive acts of the English government. The letter met with a friendly response from the legislatures of the other colo-

nies, and it directed attention to the need for unity of action. It had a different effect on the king and his ministers. They ordered the legislature of Massachusetts dissolved because it had sent out the letter, and ordered other legislatures dissolved because they had approved of it. All these arbitrary acts aroused the people still more. The merchants in the colonies refused to buy English goods, and as a result the commerce of England was injured to such an extent that the English merchants requested Parliament to repeal the import duties levied by the Townshend Acts. In response to this demand, Parliament, in 1770, repealed all these taxes except a small duty on tea. It retained the import tax on tea in order to impress on the Americans the fact that it claimed the right to tax them, and it is worthy of notice that this was done at the express command of the king.

(c) *The Boston Massacre.*

—The other parts of the Townshend Acts were not repealed. The one that provided for the quartering of troops led to serious results in Boston. The people of Boston were opposed



JOHN ADAMS

A leader in the Revolution and second
President of the United States

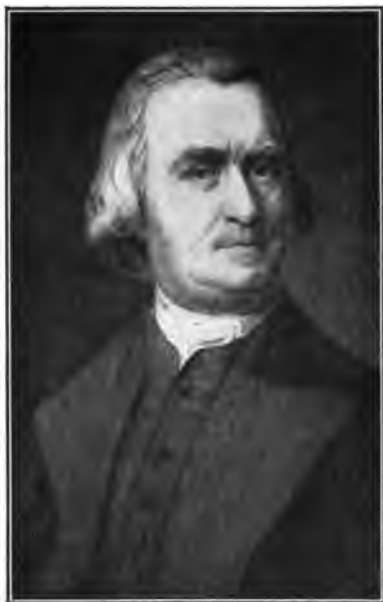
to having the English soldiers stationed in the town, and there naturally grew up an unfriendly feeling between the soldiers and the people. There were frequent quarrels. One evening, in 1770, seven soldiers fired into a crowd of people, killing four and wounding a number of others, two of whom died. It is quite likely that the soldiers fired without orders, and because they were afraid that they would be either killed or injured by the people who were crowding upon them. This affair, which is known as the Boston Massacre, created a great deal of excitement. Six citizens had been killed as the direct result of quartering troops in a city in violation of a

sacred English right. In response to the demand of the town meeting all the English regulars were removed from the city.

The seven soldiers who fired on the people were defended in court by John Adams and Josiah Quincy, both of whom were citizens of Boston and strong believers in American rights. The soldiers were tried by an American jury, which declared that they were not guilty of murder, although it found two of them guilty of manslaughter. When all the circumstances are considered, this just treatment of the accused soldiers by the people of Boston is remarkable, and shows plainly that English ideas of law, justice and liberty had found a safe home in America.

(d) *The Tax on Tea*.—The smallness of the tax retained on tea, and the permission granted the East India Company to ship it direct to the colonies, without paying the English import duty, made tea cheaper in America than in England. The Americans however were not to be induced to buy the tea because of its cheapness. They saw that the small tax was retained for the express purpose of asserting the right to tax them, and it was for this very reason that they were determined to oppose it. As the East India Company supposed that the Americans would gladly buy tea at the reduced price, they sent a large quantity to America in 1773. The ships sailed for Charleston, Philadelphia, New York and Boston. The tea was landed at Charleston, but none of it was ever sold or used until after the Revolution began, when it was sold by the state. No one would receive the tea at Philadelphia and New York, so the ships that brought it over carried it away. At Boston the authorities would not permit the three ships containing the tea to leave the harbor without first unloading their cargoes, and if not unloaded within a certain time, the revenue officers could seize the tea and sell it to the highest bidder. In order to prevent its being landed, a party of men, disguised as Indians, boarded the vessels after dark, cut open the tea chests and threw the tea into the sea. This is known as the Boston Tea Party. This unlawful destruction of the tea gave the king and Parliament an excuse for using force against Boston and Massachusetts. It would have been better, perhaps, to have disposed of the tea in some such way as it had been disposed of at Charleston.²⁴

It seems that Samuel Adams was responsible for the Boston Tea Party. He did not seem to desire that the trouble between the Americans and England should be settled in a peaceable manner. According to Fiske, and his own statement, Adams began to plan to bring about the Revolution and the independence of the colonies as far back as 1768. But he was a shrewd, able man, and knew that the Americans did not desire separation from England at that time, but wished only to maintain their rights as Englishmen. The unwise and offensive acts of the king and Parliament roused the people more and more, and when the tea ships sailed for America, Adams thought the time had come to commit some act that would cause England to use force. He believed that such action on the part of England would unite the colonies in open opposition. This was the main reason why he directed and controlled the Boston town meetings in such a way as to secure the unlawful destruction of the tea.



SAMUEL ADAMS

75. The Repressive or Intolerable Acts.—The manner in which the Americans had received the tea made it plain that Parliament could not levy and collect a tax in the colonies unless it did so by force. The action of the Boston Tea Party made it necessary for the English government to punish Boston in some way, or else admit that it had no right to tax the colonies or otherwise interfere with their home affairs. Parliament, under Lord North as Prime Minister, determined to maintain its position and punish Massachusetts. In 1774 it adopted a series of four acts, which are known in the United States as the

Repressive or Intolerable Acts. At the same time, Parliament passed another act, which placed the territory north of the Ohio, and between the Mississippi River and the Alleghany Mountains, under the military government of Canada. The last act was not adopted because of the trouble between the colonies and England; but it tended to provoke the Americans, because Virginia, Connecticut and Massachusetts claimed some of this territory,



JOHN HANCOCK
President of the Continental Congress

and because a military government would interfere with the westward growth of the colonies. The first of the four acts for the punishment of Massachusetts is known as the Boston Port Bill. It provided that no ships should enter or leave the port of Boston until that town had paid the East India Company for the tea that had been destroyed at the Boston Tea Party. The second act annulled the charter of Massachusetts and really placed the government of that colony in the hands of the governor, who was appointed by the king. This swept away in Massachusetts nearly all the more important English rights

and liberties. The third act provided that an English officer or soldier, when charged with a crime, should be tried outside of Massachusetts. This was done because it was claimed he would not receive a fair trial in Massachusetts; but there was no good reason for believing that any one so charged would not receive fair and just treatment in the courts of the colony. The fourth act made it legal to quarter troops anywhere in Massachusetts.

In providing the severe punishment provided in the four Repressive Acts, the king and Parliament hoped to restrict the

trouble as much as possible to Massachusetts, and they seemed really to believe that the other colonies would not assist her. The other colonies saw clearly, however, that the successful overthrow of popular government in Massachusetts would mean, sooner or later, the overthrow of their own rights and liberties, and they naturally concluded that an attack on Massachusetts was an attack on all the American colonies. They therefore decided to assist Massachusetts, and this decision naturally led to unity of action.

Beginnings of the Revolution

76. Growth of Colonial Union.²⁵—By far the strongest force in gradually bringing the colonies together and causing them to act in unison for their common protection was the unwise policy of the English government. The frequent attempts of the king and Parliament to overthrow the most sacred English rights alarmed the thinking men in all the colonies, and forced them to unite for their own defense. The Stamp Act caused the colonies to send delegates to the Stamp Act Congress in 1765, and this taught them how to unite for common action. The resistance to the Townshend Acts tended still further to unite the colonies. The circular letter that the legislature of Massachusetts sent to the other colonies, in which she suggested unity of action in opposition to these Acts, had a strong effect in creating a sentiment of union. The opposition of the king and Parliament to this letter only increased its effect. The agreements called Non-Importation Agreements, which the merchants of the different colonies made, and in which they agreed not to import any goods from England until the Townshend Acts were repealed, also taught unity of action.

(a) *Attempts to Transport Americans for Trial.*—Another thing that created a desire for closer relations was the attempt of the king and Parliament to take Americans to England for trial. About a hundred years before England had a colony, Parliament made a law that provided for the trial and punishment in England of any English subject who had committed a crime outside of England. Although this law had been almost

forgotten even in England, Parliament in 1768 tried to apply it to the colonies in order to bring to England those Americans who might be accused of treason.

In 1772 another attempt was made to put this law into effect. The English government had stationed a war vessel, the *Gaspee*, in Narragansett Bay to enforce the Navigation Acts. While chasing a colonial vessel, the *Gaspee* ran ashore and could not get back into the water at once. Now, the captain of the *Gaspee* had tried to enforce the Navigation Laws strictly, and with a reckless disregard for the rights of innocent people. Because of this, the merchants and the people of Providence, Rhode Island, disliked him and his vessel. As a result of this strong feeling, men from Providence boarded the *Gaspee* one night and burned it. The English government at once sent over a Commission of Inquiry, with orders to have those who assisted in the burning of the vessel arrested and brought to England for trial.

While no American was ever taken to England for trial, these attempts to do so were direct attacks on the very basis of liberty and popular government. They were severely condemned in the colonies, and were received with profound concern by the ablest Americans. The Virginians looked on these attempts to transport Americans to England for trial with special concern and suspicion. The news of the first attempt reached Virginia in 1769, and it was at once strongly condemned by the leaders of that colony. In writing to a friend regarding the effect of this attack on liberty, Washington said, "No man should hesitate a moment to use arms in defense of so valuable a blessing." When the House of Burgesses met, it passed a series of four resolutions in which it was stated that the people of the different colonies had a right to unite in a petition to the king or Parliament, and that to send any American to England for trial was "highly derogatory of the rights of British subjects." The House of Burgesses requested the legislatures of the other colonies to approve these resolutions, and as a rule they did so. Because it had asked the other colonies to join it in this protest against the violation of English rights that Englishmen everywhere held especially dear, the governor dissolved the House of Burgesses.

(b) *Colonial Committees of Correspondence*.—The legislature was again in session when the news reached Virginia in 1773 that those who had assisted in burning the *Gaspee* were to be arrested and taken to England for trial. This second attempt of the king and Parliament to destroy the very basis of liberty caused the Burgesses to decide not merely to pass resolutions, but to have all the colonies unite in the defense of English liberties. They appointed a permanent Committee of Correspondence. This committee was to make a special investigation of the *Gaspee* affair and "maintain a correspondence with our sister colonies." As the committees in Massachusetts were purely local, the appointing of this committee was the first provision that any of the colonial governments had made for a permanent body whose duty it was to discuss plans of action with the other colonies, and to report on the general welfare of all. This committee is called "Colonial Committee of Correspondence." Without much delay Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire and South Carolina appointed similar committees, and within a year a committee of this kind had been appointed in each of the colonies. This completed the necessary arrangements for a colonial union. These committees could easily arrange for a meeting or congress in which all the colonies would be represented, and through which they could act as one. Within the next few months this was what actually happened.

(c) *The First Continental Congress*.—When Parliament, in April, 1774, adopted the four acts for the punishment of Massachusetts, it did what was necessary to cause the growth of union to advance from Committees of Correspondence to a Congress in which all the colonies would be represented. As soon as it became known in America that these acts had been passed, the people of the different colonies began to promise Massachusetts their support. They considered an attack on Massachusetts an attack on all the colonies. Washington said that if necessary he would raise a thousand men, support them at his own expense, "and march at their head for the relief of Boston." The House of Burgesses passed a resolution declaring that June 1, the day on which the Boston Port Bill was to go into effect, should be kept as a day of fasting and prayer. The governor at once

dissolved the House of Burgesses as a legislature, but it continued to meet in another hall and declared by resolution that "an attack on one colony was an attack upon all British America." It instructed its Committee of Correspondence to recommend to the similar committees in the other colonies that a congress of delegates from all the colonies be held. The other colonies agreed to this plan, and Massachusetts was asked to name the time and place for holding the congress. On the 17th of June, Massachusetts appointed five delegates to this Congress, and selected the first of September and Philadelphia as the time and place of meeting. The royal governor of Georgia succeeded in preventing that colony from selecting delegates, but all the other colonies were represented.

This Congress was in session from September 5 to October 26, 1774. It consisted of fifty-five delegates, and among them were the ablest men in all the colonies. Washington, Henry, Lee and Randolph came from Virginia; Samuel Adams and John Adams from Massachusetts; John Jay from New York; Judge Hopkins from Rhode Island; Roger Sherman from Connecticut; and Rutledge from South Carolina. These men did not meet for the purpose of doing anything that would cause the colonies to separate from England. With the exception of Samuel Adams, there was probably not a member of this Congress who desired that the colonies should become independent of England. They had met for the purpose of defending their rights. They were willing to take up arms and fight for English freedom as their ancestors in England had many times done; but they were not willing to take up arms for the purpose of becoming free from England. Her history was their history, and they loved her and her history too well for that.

The Congress drew up and adopted a statement or declaration of the rights of the colonies. This statement claimed merely that Americans (Englishmen in America) were entitled to enjoy the same rights as Englishmen in England. Parliament was asked to repeal all laws that interfered with these rights. This Congress also prepared and sent addresses to the king and to the people of England and British America. In order better to prevent the importation or use of English goods in the colonies,

the Congress recommended that each county or town should appoint a committee whose duty it should be to discourage the use of English goods, and to publish the names of all those who used them. The local committees of each colony were to report to the Colonial Committee of Correspondence of that colony. Samuel Adams, very likely, recommended this local committee system, for he had established it in Massachusetts four or five months before Virginia had appointed the first Colonial Committee of Correspondence. After completing this work and



providing for the meeting of another Congress on May 10, 1775, the First Continental Congress adjourned. The peaceful attitude of the members of this First Congress is indicated plainly by the fact that the Second Congress was not to meet if Parliament, before that time, should decide to respect the rights of the colonies, and repeal those Acts that tended to overthrow these rights. But stirring events were to occur before the time set for the meeting of the Second Congress.

77. Lexington and Concord:²⁶ (a) *Events Leading to this Battle.*—As has already been stated, one of the Acts for the punishment of Massachusetts annulled her charter and placed

the government of that colony in the hands of the royal governor. General Gage was appointed military governor under this new law, and he reached Boston in May, 1774, with additional soldiers. In accordance with the Boston Port Bill, no vessels were permitted to enter or leave Boston harbor. This caused considerable suffering among the poor people of the city. In order to be safe from any attack, Gage fortified Boston Neck, which was the only approach to the city. But although Gage occupied Boston he could not enforce the new government. The people of Massachusetts maintained that Parliament had no legal power to annul the charter of the colony, and that therefore the government under Gage was illegal.

The representatives of the people met and appointed a receiver general, and the public taxes were paid to him instead of to the treasurer appointed by Gage. A Committee of Safety was appointed, which, with the assistance of the local town committees, carried on the government of the colony. In all parts of Massachusetts men began to drill and to collect powder, guns and other military stores. Some of the men in each town and village were to be ready to leave home and to begin fighting at any minute, and they were therefore called minute-men. Gage knew all about these preparations, but he could not prevent them, and the people gave him no excuse for beginning war. Samuel Adams and the other New England leaders believed that in order to be sure of the assistance of the other colonies, the British must fire the first shot. While the people of Massachusetts were determined to defend their rights, they quietly submitted to the military occupation of Boston for almost a year, in order to secure united action by all the colonies when the conflict should begin. Samuel Adams deserves much of the credit for this. He was a shrewd and able politician, and for more than five years had been doing his best to get England and the colonies into war. But he was doing this because he thought it was best for the colonies to become an independent nation. He was among the very few Americans who, before 1775, desired to see the colonies become free from England. He used some of the methods of the politician, but his actions were dictated by high motives of patriotism and love of country. Gage was no match for him.

While the people of Massachusetts were preparing for war, Adams, Hancock, Warren and the other leaders of the colony were determined that England should actually begin it. In April, 1775, almost one year after Gage arrived in Boston, they were at last successful. Gage knew that the Americans had been collecting powder and other war supplies at the town of Concord, about twenty miles from Boston. He also knew that Adams and Hancock were stopping at Lexington for a few days, and that they were then going on to Philadelphia to attend the meeting of the Second Continental Congress. Some time before this, Gage had received strict orders to arrest both Adams and Hancock and send them to England for trial. Lexington is between Boston and Concord, so Gage sent out eight hundred soldiers with orders to capture Adams and Hancock, and then to push on to Concord and destroy the military stores that had been collected there by the Americans.

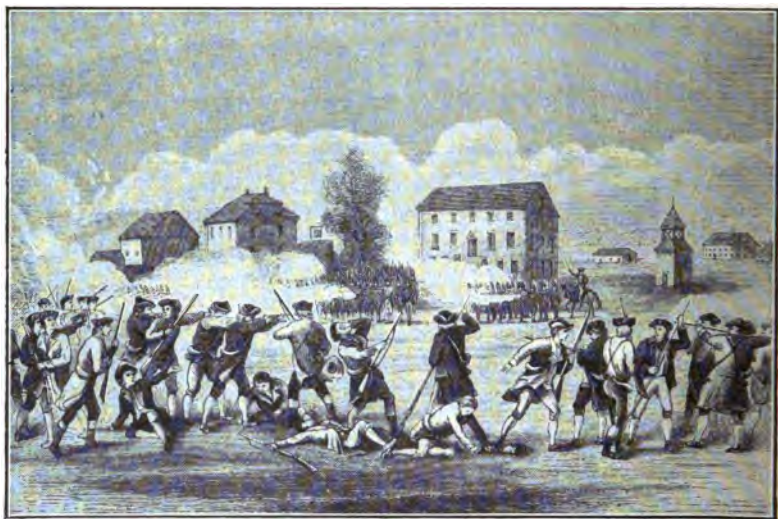
(b) *The Battle and Some of Its Results.*—In order that the Americans might not learn of these plans, the eight hundred British regulars left Boston very quietly about ten o'clock on the evening of April 18. But every movement of the British in Boston was being watched so closely that these soldiers had scarcely begun their march when messengers began riding out into the country and rousing the people from their sleep with the news. One of these messengers was Paul Revere, whose ride Longfellow has described in a well-known poem. Revere reached Lexington about midnight, after having aroused the people along



CHRIST CHURCH, BOSTON

Lanterns were hung in the steeple to signal Paul Revere that the regulars were coming

the road over which he came. By this time messengers were riding over the country in every direction. Revere rode up to the home in which Samuel Adams and Hancock were sleeping, and told them that the regulars were coming. He then rode on to Concord, spreading the news on the way. Some of the men whom he had aroused from sleep mounted their horses and helped to carry the news throughout the country. The British reached Lexington just as the sun was rising. Some fifty minute-men had already gathered to oppose them. They refused to



LEXINGTON

The first shots of the Revolution. This was the beginning of the war that resulted in the birth of the nation

disperse when the British officer ordered them to do so. He then ordered his soldiers to fire on the Americans. It is not known positively whether the British or the Americans fired the first shot, but as a result of the firing some fifteen or twenty men were either killed or wounded. The minute-men withdrew, and the British, after sending a messenger back to Gage for more men, marched on to Concord. Little did they think that they had just begun a war that would result in the independence of the colonies. Adams and Hancock, who had just left Lexington

a short time before, were walking across the fields on their way to the Second Continental Congress. "As the crackle of distant musketry reached their ears, the eager Adams, his soul aglow with the prophecy of the coming deliverance of his country, exclaimed, 'Oh, what a glorious morning is this!'"

When the British reached Concord, their commander placed about two hundred of them to guard the bridge that spanned the Concord River, which flows just beyond the town. The remaining six hundred of the British were unable to find many



CONCORD BRIDGE AS IT IS TODAY

"In gratitude to God and in the love of Freedom this Monument was erected
A. D. 1836"

guns or much other war material, because most of the military stores had been either removed or hidden. While the soldiers were looking for these stores, the number of minute-men beyond the river became larger and larger. They soon advanced to the bridge, charged across it, and drove the two hundred regulars back into the village, but their number was still too small to enable them to attack the main body of the English.

About noon the British began their march back to Boston.

The Americans, whose number had been growing larger all the time, began at once to attack them from all sides. By the time Lexington was reached the regulars were thrown into confusion by the constant and deadly fire of the Americans. The only thing that saved them from capture was the arrival of twelve hundred more soldiers, for whom the English commander had sent back to Boston in the morning. After resting awhile the British continued their retreat. The Americans at once renewed the attack from all sides, and the regulars reached Charlestown and the protection of their ships none too soon. Had the retreat



LEXINGTON GREEN AS IT IS TODAY

required an hour or so longer, the entire British force would, very likely, have been captured by the Americans. As it was, the English had lost about three hundred in killed and wounded, and the Americans about one hundred. The most remarkable thing about the fighting on this historic nineteenth day of April was the quickness with which the Americans gathered for the attack. It showed how well the town meetings had done their work in preparing the people for prompt and effective action.

The minute-men continued to flock to Boston, and within a few days Gage found himself besieged in that city by an army

of sixteen thousand Americans. A large number of these men had been in the French and Indian War, and it was therefore only about sixteen years since they had seen actual fighting. Thus the first battle of the Revolution ended in the immediate siege of Boston by an American army composed largely of veterans. The news of these events resulted, also, in the capture of the strong fortress of Ticonderoga. The Americans captured this fortress and the small fort of Crown Point on the 10th of May. The capture of these two forts gave the Americans control of the main gateway between Canada and the Hudson River; and what was of still more importance, it gave them about two hundred cannon and a large supply of ammunition. Some of these cannon and other military supplies were taken to Boston for the American army, which was badly in need of them.

78. The Second Continental Congress.—On May 10, 1775, the same day on which Ticonderoga and Crown Point were captured, the Second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia. As in the case of the First Congress, each colony had sent its ablest men. Although the English and Americans were actually fighting, there were less than half a dozen men in this Congress when it first met who advocated or even desired that the colonies should become independent. Nearly all the members of this Congress wished to continue the union between the colonies and England, but all of them were determined to maintain their rights as Englishmen. The Congress adopted the army around Boston as the army of the colonies, and called it the Continental Army. Washington was chosen commander in chief of this army. On July 6, Congress passed a resolution in which it stated why the colonies had taken up arms, and on July 8 it adopted another petition to the king. In both the resolution and petition, Congress stated that the Americans did not wish to become free from England, but merely wished to maintain their rights, and that they would gladly quit fighting if Parliament would repeal those laws that tended to destroy in America the ancient liberties of England.

79. The Battle of Bunker Hill.—Toward the latter part of May, Generals Howe, Clinton and Burgoyne arrived at Boston with more English troops. General Gage now had an army of

about ten thousand men, and he at once prepared to occupy the hills around Boston so as to prevent the Americans from fortifying them and bombarding his troops with cannon. The Americans learned that he intended to fortify Bunker Hill and Breed's Hill, which are just back of Charlestown. Charlestown and these two hills are situated on a narrow peninsula, which is separated from Boston by a narrow arm of the waters of Boston harbor. In order to prevent Gage from fortifying either of these hills, about twelve hundred of the American soldiers advanced on the night of June 16 for the purpose of fortifying Bunker Hill. Through some mistake, or because of the darkness, they passed on and began to dig trenches and construct breastworks on Breed's Hill, which is nearer Charlestown. The British were very much surprised next morning at the sight of these works, and decided at once to drive the Americans away from this important position. The British could easily have occupied the narrow strip of land that connects the mainland with the peninsula. This would, very likely, have resulted in the capture of the entire American force. Instead of doing so, the British decided to march up Breed's Hill and drive the Americans from their works by a direct attack in front. About three thousand regulars were brought over from Boston in boats, and by three o'clock they began to advance up the hill for an assault on the American lines. The Americans behind their breastworks did not shoot until the English were within fifty steps, when they fired with deliberate aim. Nearly all the men in the front ranks of the British lines were killed or wounded. The English returned the fire, but were soon forced to retreat down the hill in some disorder. They advanced to the attack the second time. This time the Americans withheld their fire until the British were within about thirty steps, when they delivered such deadly volleys that the front ranks of the regulars were cut to pieces, and they were forced again to retreat down the hill. With true English pluck, General Howe ordered the third attack, and for the third time the brave regulars marched to the assault on the American lines. This time the American fire was weak, because their powder had given out. They were slowly driven from their works and forced to retreat back over Charlestown Neck.

But they retreated in good order and fought with stones and their gun stocks. More than one thousand of the English were either killed or wounded. The American loss was about four hundred and fifty.

The result of the British advance on Lexington and Concord a little less than two months before had encouraged the Americans and discouraged the English. Though the Americans were defeated at Breed's Hill, this battle, called the battle of Bunker Hill, still further encouraged the Americans and discouraged



BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL

the English. The English now knew that the Americans would fight, and that the subjugation of the colonies meant a long and bloody war. The Americans had learned that they were a match for the English regulars, and this was of great value, because it gave them confidence. Washington was on his way to Boston to take command of the army when the news reached him. After being told how the Americans had fought at the battle of Bunker Hill, he was very much pleased and declared that the liberties of the people were safe.

80. The Siege and Capture of Boston.—General Washington

arrived at Boston on July 2, and on the following day he assumed command of the patriot army. He found it not well organized, and without much discipline. There was a great scarcity of powder and an almost total lack of siege guns. Washington, patiently and wisely, devoted the time between July 3, 1775 and March 4, 1776 to a careful organization of his army and to the collection of the necessary military supplies. Siege guns were brought over the snow on sleds from the fortress of Ticonderoga, and powder was secured from every possible source. The soldiers were drilled and a regular system for supplying them with food, clothes and other supplies was established. Many people did not see the value of this work, and they began to criticise Washington for not "doing something." But on this occasion, as on many others, his strong character and good judgment enabled him to say nothing in reply, and to go straight ahead. He knew that to risk a battle before his army was prepared to fight might mean defeat, and that a defeat at that time would greatly discourage the Americans. He drew his lines closely around Boston, but did nothing to provoke a general attack until he was fully prepared. By March 4 he felt that the American army was ready to force the English out of Boston, and to fight a general battle if necessary. On the evening of that day, the Americans began a heavy cannon fire on the English lines. The British returned the fire with vigor throughout the night. While the British had their attention thus attracted, Washington sent two thousand soldiers to occupy and fortify Dorchester Heights. These Heights were close to Boston, and cannon placed on them could destroy the English army in Boston and the English ships in Boston harbor. The two thousand Americans on Dorchester Heights worked hard all night, building breastworks and placing the siege guns in position.

When morning came, and General Howe, who had succeeded General Gage in command, saw the cannon and the fortifications on Dorchester Heights, he knew that the Americans had been cannonading his lines all night for the purpose of deceiving him. He also knew that he must either drive the Americans from their new position or leave Boston. The battle of Bunker Hill had had its effect, and although Howe at first decided to try an assault

on the new American position on Dorchester Heights, he finally concluded to leave Boston rather than risk an attack on the American lines. Howe told the people of Boston that he was going to leave, but that if his troops were fired on, he would burn the city. In order to save the town, Washington permitted the English to leave without further fighting. On the 17th of March they sailed away for Halifax and took with them about one thousand Americans who were in sympathy with England. By the capture of Boston Washington secured some two hundred cannon, a large supply of powder and a great quantity of other valuable military stores.

81. The Declaration of Independence:²⁷ (a) *Early Sentiment.*—The entrance of Washington and the Continental Army into Boston brought to an end the first period of the Revolution. Until about that time the great mass of the American people, and most of their ablest leaders, did not desire to separate from England. They were fighting for the rights of Englishmen, but they wished to remain a part of the British Empire. There is ample evidence to show that this was the real desire of the Americans at this time. Reference has already been made to the resolutions passed by Congress on July 6, 1775, and to the petition to the king that was adopted two days later. Although this petition and these resolutions were adopted almost a month after the battle of Bunker Hill, Congress stated specifically that the Americans did not wish to become free from England. In the resolutions that stated the causes for taking up arms, Congress said: "Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent states." In the petition to the king, Congress, speaking for the Americans, said that if the danger to their rights were removed, "your Majesty will find your faithful subjects on this continent ready and willing at all times, as they have ever been, with their lives and fortunes, to assert and maintain the rights and interests of your Majesty, and of our

mother country." More than six months after he had taken command of the American army at Boston, Washington said in a letter to a friend, "When I took command of the army, I abhorred the idea of independence; now, I am convinced, nothing else will serve us." These expressions of Congress and of Washington represented the desires and wishes of the American people in July, 1775.

(b) *Change in Sentiment Concerning Independence; Reasons for Change.*—In one year from that time, however, a great change had taken place, and Congress, representing the changed desires and wishes of the people, declared the independence of the colonies. This indicated an immense change in public sentiment in a very short time, and on a very important question. But there were abundant reasons for this change. The king would not even receive the petition that Congress had adopted on July 8, 1775. Instead of considering it, he issued a proclamation on August 23, in which he declared that the Americans were in rebellion, and that it was the duty of all his subjects to assist in putting down such rebellion. When this news reached America, many people began to think that it might be necessary for the colonies to declare their independence of England. Another thing that tended toward independence was the establishment of new government in the colonies. During the year 1775 nearly all the royal governors had been forced to leave the colonies. As this left many of the colonies without any legal or regular government, Congress recommended that the people of those colonies establish such form of government as they might think best. Those colonies that had no charters acted upon this advice. Although each of these new governments that were organized before May, 1776, acknowledged, in some way, its connection with Great Britain, the very fact that these practically independent governments existed, tended to create a feeling of independence. The fact that a Congress existed, which represented all the colonies, also tended strongly to develop this feeling. In January, 1776, Thomas Paine issued a pamphlet called "Common Sense," in which he called attention to all these things, and advocated the independence of the colonies. This pamphlet had a strong influence in causing the people

to desire independence, but many Americans still desired that the colonies should remain a part of the British Empire.

About this time, however, King George did something that turned the tide in the colonies in favor of independence. It soon became plain that the English people were not very anxious to join the army for the purpose of fighting their American brethren. The king and his minister saw that it was necessary either

to compel men to join the army or to obtain soldiers in some other way. As the ablest men in England were strongly in favor of the Americans in their struggle to maintain English rights, it would not have been safe for the king to have attempted to force men into the army. It was therefore necessary for him to secure soldiers by some other means. He wished to hire twenty thousand men from Russia, but Catherine, the Em-

press of Russia, refused. He then applied to several of the German states, and succeeded in hiring twenty thousand good soldiers and four good generals. The blame for this rests justly on the German princes, who hired the men to the king for the purpose of making money. The soldiers did not wish to fight the Americans, and the mass of the German people were strongly opposed to it. The great Frederick, king of Prussia, felt humiliated and expressed deep regret. On every one of these soldiers who passed through



DRAFTING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, Sherman and Livingston

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, ~~independent~~; that ^{they are endowed by their creator with certain} ~~unalienable~~ rights, that ^{these} ~~unalienable~~ rights are ~~unalienable~~ life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government ~~shall~~ becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, & to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles & organising it's powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety & happiness. prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
Facsimile of Jefferson's original draft

Prussia he ordered his customhouse officers to collect a toll, as though they were "cattle exported for foreign shambles." The ablest men in Parliament condemned severely this hiring of foreign troops to help subjugate the Americans. When the news reached America, it caused the great mass of the people to decide at once in favor of independence. They lost what respect and affection they still had for the king, and from that time he was bitterly denounced by most of the Americans.

(c) *Resolution for Independence Adopted.*— Things

moved rapidly now toward a declaration of independence.

On May 14, 1776, the legislature of Virginia, by unanimous vote, instructed its delegates in Congress to propose

a resolution declaring "the United Colonies free and independent States." On June 7

Richard Henry Lee, chairman of the Virginia delegates in Congress, introduced a resolution for the purpose of

carrying out these instructions. The debate that followed indicates plainly that a

majority of the delegates in Congress were not ready to

declare for independence, and a vote on Lee's resolution was postponed until July 1. Meanwhile the action of Virginia,

the largest of the colonies, and the determined attitude of Massachusetts were having profound effect on the other colonies. One

by one they instructed their delegates in Congress to vote for independence. By the 28th of June all the thirteen colonies

except New York had so instructed their delegates, and in a few days that colony also declared for independence. On July 1

Congress again took up Lee's resolution. It was ably debated on both sides and the next day adopted. On July 4 the formal



LIBERTY BELL

This bell announced to the people of Philadelphia the adoption of the Declaration of Independence

Declaration of Independence was adopted, but it was not signed by the members of Congress until August 2. The news that Congress had finally declared for independence spread rapidly throughout the country, and was hailed with delight by most of the people. Thus the war became a war for independence, and not merely a war for the protection of English rights in America.

82. Conditions Affecting the War: (a) *Resources of England and America.*—Neither England nor America was well prepared for the war that was to result in the birth of the United States and in the loss to England of the best part of her Empire. In some things England had the advantage, and in others America had the advantage. The population of England was about ten millions, while that of the United States was only about three millions. England's wealth and her supply of war material were many times greater than those of America. There was very little gold or silver money in the United States during the Revolution, and Congress could not secure enough to pay the soldiers and purchase the necessary supplies for the army. Cannon, guns and other military supplies had not been manufactured in the colonies, and for these the Americans were compelled to rely on what they could secure from France and capture from the English. This lack of money and military supplies was a constant worry to Washington and often seriously interfered with his plans.

(b) *Opposition in England to the War.*—In neither England nor America were the people united in support of the war, but this was a more serious injury to the English than to the Americans. During the first part of the war most of the English people approved of the policy of the king and the majority of Parliament, but before the conflict ended a majority of them became opposed to the war. This change of feeling was brought about by the loss of English trade with America, and by the fact that the great mass of the English people began to understand that the Americans were fighting for English rights. From the very first there were men in both houses of Parliament who strongly denounced the war. Among these men were the ablest statesmen of England, including Pitt, Burke and Fox.

These and others ably defended the Americans in the debates of both houses, declaring that America was fighting for the great principles of English liberty, and that her defeat would be a serious blow to these principles in England itself. In the debate in the House of Lords on the Boston Port Bill, and the proposal to send troops to Boston, the Duke of Richmond said, "I wish from the bottom of my heart that the Americans may resist and get the better of the troops sent against them." These men rejoiced openly in American victories. Even General Burgoyne, after his surrender at Saratoga and while a paroled prisoner, ably defended the cause of the Americans in Parliament. Such strong and open defense of the Americans by the greatest men in England caused more and more of the English people to oppose the war, and was of great injury to the king and his ministers.

(c) *American Opposition to the Revolution.*—On the other hand, many of the Americans were opposed to the Revolution. All those Americans who openly sympathized with the English during the war were called Tories, because the Tory party in England had control of Parliament and had helped the king to bring about the war. Some of these Tories, or loyalists, raised regiments, joined the English armies and fought against their fellow-Americans. They assisted the English in many ways, and the feeling against them was bitter.

(d) *Weak National Government in the United States.*—The weak national government in the United States during the Revolution injured the American cause a great deal more than did the opposition of the Tories. Congress did not have the power necessary to raise armies and conduct the war with vigor, nor did it have the power to levy taxes for the support of an army. Congress could ask the states to furnish money and soldiers, but it did not have the power to compel the states to carry out these requests. The states, as a rule, were not very prompt or energetic in furnishing supplies or soldiers, unless they were actually invaded by an English army. If Congress had had the power and the full support of the people, it could have raised a splendid army of at least one hundred thousand men, and furnished it with ample supplies for carrying on an energetic campaign.

With such an army Washington could have driven the English from every state and quickly ended the war. The weak condition of Congress, and the lack of a cordial and well-directed support by the states, made the work of Washington and his army very difficult. If the Americans had not been so far from England, and had not received help from France, the war would have lasted much longer than it did, and might have ended without resulting in the independence of the United States.

(e) *Effect of Various Conditions on Progress of War.*—As the war dragged along, the English people became more and more opposed to it, and the king and Parliament were forced to tell the Americans that all their former demands regarding their rights would be granted. The terms offered were liberal and would have given the Americans almost as free a government as that now enjoyed by Canada. If the Americans had thought the result of the war more doubtful, they might have accepted this offer, for a large number of them were not, even at that time, very anxious for independence. But the assistance of France, together with the weak manner in which England was compelled to conduct the war on account of her distance from America, the almost total lack of good generals among the English commanders and the opposition of a large number of her people at home, convinced the Americans that they could soon bring the conflict to an end and secure their complete independence.

CAMPAIGNS *

83. Nature and Object of the Three Campaigns Planned by the British.—After the English under Gage sailed away from Boston on March 17, 1776, they made no further attempt during the war to invade and subdue New England. Nor did they make any serious attempt during the war to invade and subdue Virginia. Virginia and New England each contained about seven hundred thousand people, which made their combined population about equal to that of all the other states. The people of Virginia and New England were united and aggressive in their opposition to England. The battles of Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill, and the siege of Boston, had taught the

British that an invasion of New England meant the stout and active resistance of almost every man. They knew that the people of Virginia were just as united and determined as those of New England, and that an invasion of that state, the home of Washington and of many of the other leaders of the Revolution, would meet with the same strong resistance.

The British decided, therefore, to leave New England and Virginia, with their large and hostile population, alone, and to try to subdue the states that contained fewer people and in which they hoped to find many of the people friendly to them. They thought that if they could get control of most of the other states, Virginia and New England would be compelled to submit. After the capture of Boston by Washington, the king and his ministers and generals, therefore, planned three general campaigns—two against the middle states and one against the far southern states. The object of one of the campaigns against the middle states was to capture New York City and secure control of the Hudson River and of as much of the state of New York as possible. The success of this campaign would have been of great value to the British, because it would have given them control of a direct line of communication between New York City and Canada; and as the English had control of the sea, this would have completely separated New England from all the other states. The object of the other campaign against the middle states was to capture Philadelphia, which was at that time the largest city in America, and to secure control of as much of Pennsylvania and New Jersey as possible. By the southern campaign the British hoped to capture the cities of Charleston and Savannah, and secure control of Georgia, South Carolina and North Carolina.

Campaigns Against the Middle States

84. Capture of New York City.—After the capture of Boston, Washington thought the British would next attack New York City; so in April he marched to that city and prepared to defend it with a force of about eighteen thousand men. Nine thousand of these men he placed on Long Island, some in New York City, some at Fort Lee above the city on the west bank of

the Hudson River, and some at Fort Washington on the east side of the river just across from Fort Lee.

In July Admiral Howe arrived in New York Bay in command of a strong English fleet, on board of which was an army of twenty-five thousand men under his brother, General Howe. The British army landed on Staten Island and went into camp. General Howe was friendly to the Americans, and wished to bring the war to an end without further fighting. But Congress had just passed the Declaration of Independence, and General Howe did not have the authority to concede the rights demanded by the Americans before the war began; so his efforts in behalf of peace ended in failure.

Howe moved his army to Long Island, defeated the Americans and captured a thousand prisoners. He then prepared to besiege the entire American army, which was strongly intrenched on Brooklyn Heights. With his large army and the assistance of the English fleet he could have soon captured the Americans on these Heights if he had succeeded in surrounding them. This would have been a very serious disaster to the Americans, because more than one-half of their army was within the fortifications on Brooklyn Heights. Washington at once decided to bring this division of his army across to New York; but this was a dangerous undertaking, because there was a strong English fleet in the harbor, and a strong English army ready to attack at any time. Washington therefore quietly collected on the New York side of East River every boat and barge he could secure and waited till evening. The night was dark and foggy, and the entire army was moved across the river to New York City without the movement being detected by the British. Howe then advanced upon New York and drove Washington up the Hudson River to White Plains on the east side of that river. Several small battles were fought, but neither side lost many men. Howe then marched down the river and encamped near Fort Washington, where he could either attack that fort or cross the Hudson into New Jersey and march on Philadelphia. In order to meet any move that Howe might make, Washington left seven thousand men just across from White Plains, under Charles Lee, and sent five thousand under Putnam across the Hudson into



New Jersey. He left three thousand at Fort Washington and a small number at Fort Lee.

85. Washington's Retreat and His Capture of Trenton:

(a) *Situation of American Army.*—The capture of New York City was of great importance to the British. In addition to the value of its harbor to the English navy, the city was centrally located and was used by the British during the war as the main base of operations for their southern campaign, as well as for



WASHINGTON'S RETREAT FROM LONG ISLAND

their two northern campaigns. The fighting that resulted in the capture of New York did not, however, result in much injury to the American army. Although more than two months had now passed since the battle of Long Island, and the Americans had been forced to retreat up the Hudson, Washington had almost as large an army as when the fighting began. He was about as well prepared to meet the British in battle as ever before, but all this was soon to be changed, and through no fault of his. He decided to abandon both Fort Washington and

Fort Lee rather than risk the capture of his soldiers in them. He therefore ordered Greene to bring all the soldiers and supplies away from both these forts if the British should threaten to attack them. He also ordered Charles Lee to be ready to march with the seven thousand soldiers under his command at a moment's notice. Washington then went up the Hudson River to see about building a fort at West Point.

(b) *Loss of Fort Lee; Character of General Lee.*—While he was away Congress ordered Greene to hold Fort Washington, and just as Washington returned Howe captured the fort with its three thousand soldiers. This was a serious disaster for the Americans, and was caused by the meddling of Congress. Washington, who was across the river at Fort Lee, from which point he watched the capture and surrender of the fort, had but six thousand men on the New Jersey side of the river. He at once ordered Lee, who was still near White Plains, to cross the Hudson with his seven thousand soldiers and join him. Lee was not an American, although he had come to America some time before the war began. He had served in the English army and had succeeded in convincing Congress that he was a great general. As a matter of fact, he was a worthless general, and a still more worthless man with a most detestable character. He cared nothing for the American cause, and wished only to secure some glory for himself. He wished to secure Washington's position as commander in chief. Although Washington had given him strict orders to join him at once, Lee gave some excuse for not obeying and kept his seven thousand men near White Plains. He hoped that Washington and his six thousand men might be defeated or captured, and that this might result in his own promotion.

(c) *Retreat Across New Jersey.*—General Howe soon saw the weak position of Washington and sent Cornwallis across the river with a strong army. Washington was forced to make a hasty retreat across New Jersey, and when he reached Trenton and crossed the Delaware into Pennsylvania, he had less than three thousand men. This was the darkest period of the war. The people everywhere were becoming discouraged. It was then that the great character and ability of Washington became more evident than ever. Most men in his position would have felt like

giving up the struggle. He, however, decided to win a victory that would encourage his countrymen to fight on. He soon received re-enforcements from Lee's army, but they were not brought by Lee. That general had at last crossed the Hudson and was slowly marching south through New Jersey with an army of about four thousand men. He was writing letters in which he condemned Washington, and evidently thought that he would soon have his position. One night, while stopping at a house a short distance from his army, some British soldiers captured him. They could not have done a better thing for the Americans, for Sullivan, who was next in command, marched at once to the assistance of Washington.

(d) *Capture of Trenton.*—Washington now had an army of six thousand men. On Christmas night he crossed the Delaware nine miles above Trenton, reached that town at daylight, and captured one thousand of the Hessian soldiers. Cornwallis, who had thought the war about over and had made arrangements to sail for England, marched rapidly on Trenton from the north with an army of about eight thousand men. On the evening of January 2, Washington and his army found themselves between the Delaware and this British army. Cornwallis felt sure that he could easily capture the entire American force next day, and only waited for morning and for the arrival of two thousand more men who were advancing from New Brunswick. But when morning came the American army had disappeared. Cornwallis was very much surprised and could not imagine where it had gone, until he heard the booming of cannon toward Princeton on the very road over which he had marched the day before. During the night Washington left a few of his men behind to keep his campfires burning so as to deceive the British sentinels, and marched with his army around the English forces straight on toward Princeton.

Near Princeton, just before sunrise, the American troops met the two thousand English soldiers who had just resumed their march toward Trenton, and defeated them. The British loss was about five hundred killed, wounded and prisoners. Washington had hoped to march on to New Brunswick and secure the military stores and supplies at that place. But he decided not

to risk a battle, for his soldiers were tired, and Cornwallis was marching toward him as rapidly as possible from Trenton. Washington therefore marched north and went into winter quarters on the heights of Morristown. This was a very strong position and enabled him to attack any part of the English army in New Jersey. Howe decided therefore to withdraw nearly all his army from New Jersey and not attempt the capture of Philadelphia during the winter.

“Thus in a brief campaign of three weeks,” says Fiske, “Washington had rallied the fragments of a defeated and broken



WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE

army, fought two successful battles, taken nearly two thousand prisoners, and recovered the state of New Jersey. He had cancelled the disastrous effect of Lee's treachery, and replaced things apparently in the condition in which the fall of Fort Mifflin had left them. Really he had done much more than this, for by assuming the offensive and winning victories through sheer force of genius, he had completely turned the tide of popular feeling. The British generals began to be afraid of him, while on the other hand his army began to grow by the accession of fresh recruits. In New Jersey the enemy retained nothing but New Brunswick, Amboy, and Paulus Hook.”

86. Operations in Canada and Northern New York.—The siege and capture of Boston and the campaign around New York and in New Jersey were the most important events of the war during the year 1776. There were some other military operations, however, during that year that are worthy of notice. An important campaign took place in northern New York while Washington and Howe were fighting for the control of New York City. In September, 1775, Washington sent about two thousand men under Montgomery and Arnold to invade Canada and attack the strong fortress of Quebec. Montgomery went by way of Lake Champlain and captured Montreal. Arnold marched through the dense forests of Maine. The way was so wild and rough, and food was so scarce, that he lost nearly four hundred of his men in the forest. He finally reached Quebec with seven hundred men. They climbed to the Plains of Abraham by the same path over which Wolfe and his men had reached those plains just sixteen years before. Montgomery soon arrived with five hundred more men. On the last day of 1775, this small force of twelve hundred men attempted to capture by storm the strongest fortress in America. The attack was made just after midnight, in a heavy snowstorm. It might have been successful if Montgomery, who was leading one division of the Americans, had not been killed just as he was about to force his way into the city. Montgomery's death caused his men to waver and fall back. Arnold, who was leading the attack on the other side of the city, was badly wounded; but Morgan took his place and forced his way into the city, where he and his small force were captured. The British were heavily re-enforced next spring, and the American army was compelled to retreat from Canada.

General Carleton, who had command of the English forces in Canada, soon received orders from England to invade New York by way of Lake Champlain and the Hudson. He was to capture the fortress of Ticonderoga, march down the valley of the Hudson to New York City, and join Howe, who in the meantime was to capture that city. Carleton succeeded in getting together a small fleet on the northern end of Lake Champlain. About the first of October he sailed with the fleet for the fortress of Ticonderoga, at the southern end of the lake, and took with him

on barges an army of two thousand men. Arnold, who had been watching Carleton's preparations, had built a small fleet to oppose him. He had worked extremely hard to build and equip this fleet, and although it was much smaller than the English fleet, he prepared to give battle at the southern end of the lake. The fleets fought for seven hours on October 11. The English fleet was badly damaged, but the American fleet was injured still more. During the night Arnold quietly started for Ticonderoga. When the British finally overtook him, he stopped with his own ship and hurried the rest on to the fort. For four hours he fought the British fleet single-handed, and when the dead and dying covered the decks of his ship, and his other vessels were safe on their way to the fort, he ran her ashore with her flags flying, set her on fire, and walked through the woods to the fort. The British had been so badly crippled that Carleton sailed back to Canada without trying to capture the fortress of Ticonderoga.

87. Summary of War During 1776.—Thus, during the year 1776, the British were driven out of Boston and had failed in their attempt to capture Ticonderoga. They had also failed, as will be seen later, in their attack on Charleston, South Carolina. They had not succeeded in separating New England from the other states or in capturing Philadelphia, but they had captured New York City and had defeated the American army under Washington, though the defeat of the army was due largely to the treachery of Lee and to the meddling of Congress. His able retreat through New Jersey and his brilliant successes at Trenton and Princeton proved that Washington was a general of unusual ability.

88. The Capture of Philadelphia.—In the spring of 1777 the British renewed their campaigns for the capture of Philadelphia and for the separation of New England from the other states. Burgoyne, with an army of about eight thousand men, was to capture the fortress of Ticonderoga and move down the Hudson. St. Leger, with a force of about two thousand, was to capture Oswego, on the east shore of Lake Ontario, and march across New York to the Hudson and join Burgoyne. Howe, with some eighteen thousand men, was to move up the Hudson and meet Burgoyne.

Before doing this Howe decided to capture Philadelphia. Lee was still a prisoner in New York City, and he had now become a secret traitor to the American cause. It was on Lee's advice that Howe decided first to capture Philadelphia. About the middle of June he started through New Jersey for that city with an army of eighteen thousand men, but Washington so posted his army that Howe was afraid to continue his advance, and after trying for about three weeks to draw Washington away from his strong position, he returned to New York City. Toward the latter part of July he placed his army on board a large British fleet, and sailed away from New York. During the last week in August he landed his army of eighteen thousand at the upper end of Chesapeake Bay, and began his march on Philadelphia. Washington gave battle at the Brandywine, but was defeated with a loss of about one thousand, the British loss being about the same. Howe then continued his march, and on September 26 entered Philadelphia. Washington again attacked the British at Germantown, on October 4, but was again defeated, each army losing about five hundred in killed and wounded. Washington's management of this campaign was of the highest order. Although his army was only about half as large as the army under Howe, he compelled that general to consume nearly four months in the capture of Philadelphia, and he did this with a loss of less than two thousand of his soldiers. Washington's main object was to prevent Howe from sending any men to the assistance of Burgoyne, for he knew that if he could prevent this Burgoyne and his army would be captured. This was exactly what happened. Howe made a great mistake in not moving up the Hudson instead of marching on Philadelphia, for the capture of that city was of little value to the English. As the result of the campaign the British held Philadelphia, but Washington's army was almost as strong as ever, and Burgoyne received no assistance from the twenty-seven thousand soldiers that Howe had under his command in New York City in June.

89. The Surrender of Burgoyne.—On October 17—thirteen days after the battle of Germantown—Burgoyne at Saratoga surrendered his army of six thousand to the Americans. The failure of Howe to move his troops up the Hudson sealed the

fate of the army under Burgoyne. The British campaign might have failed anyway, because if Howe had advanced north instead of on Philadelphia, Washington would have followed with an army of fully eleven thousand men. But the failure of Howe to assist Burgoyne made the latter's defeat almost certain.

On August 3 St. Leger began the siege of Fort Stanwix, which was about half way between Oswego and the Hudson. In a few days the Americans attacked the force of St. Leger from



RUINS OF TICONDEROGA

After a print published in 1818

both the front and the rear, and inflicted a serious loss on the British and Indians. Schuyler, who had command of the army that was opposing Burgoyne's advance, sent Arnold with twelve hundred men to relieve Fort Stanwix. Arnold was the right man for this difficult work and he marched rapidly to the relief of the fort. On his approach the English began to retreat toward Oswego, only to be attacked by their Indian allies. Only a small part of the British army succeeded in reaching Montreal and thus ended in failure this part of the English campaign.

Meanwhile Burgoyne had begun his advance toward New York from the north. On July 5 he captured the fortress of Ticonderoga and at once moved on Fort Edward, which was about forty miles farther south. He occupied this fort on the 30th, Schuyler having moved down the Hudson to Stillwater, which was about twenty-five miles south of Fort Edward and about the same distance north of Albany. The British army, however, was never to reach Stillwater. Schuyler was one of the ablest of the American generals. As yet his army was not large enough to risk a battle, but it was growing larger each day. He did everything possible to delay Burgoyne's advance, as he slowly retreated in front of the British. The country was wet and swampy, and was covered with a heavy forest that naturally made marching with an army very difficult. And Schuyler, in addition to destroying the bridges, had trees cut down so that they would fall across all the roads and paths and block them. As a result, Burgoyne was able to advance scarcely a mile a day with his army, and food became scarce.

Meanwhile the farmers were taking up arms and gathering around the British as they did at Lexington and Concord. Burgoyne had about five hundred Indian warriors in his army. The conduct of these Indians, especially the killing and scalping of a beautiful young girl, created a bitter feeling among the people, and caused the whole country to rise against the British. The farmer soldiers were collecting food, horses and war supplies of every kind at Bennington, a small village in Vermont about ten miles north of Massachusetts and about twenty miles from where the English army was camped. Burgoyne sent a force of one thousand men to capture these supplies. But the farmers, under command of General Stark, totally defeated these soldiers and captured over nine hundred of them. The American loss was less than sixty. This was a very serious defeat for Burgoyne, because he was badly in need of food and horses, and could not afford to lose so many men.

In the meantime Congress dismissed Schuyler and appointed Gates. This was a great injustice to Schuyler, who was just about ready to reap the reward of his hard work. He had conducted the campaign very ably, and would soon have been pre-

pared to attack and capture Burgoyne and his army. Gates, like Lee, had been an officer in the British army. He was vain and conceited, and a very poor general. Although Schuyler had been unjustly deprived of the command, he offered his services to Gates and was willing to help him in any way possible; but that officer ignored him and treated him shamefully. Arnold and Morgan, who were under Gates, deserve the credit for winning the two battles that were yet to be fought.

The American army could hardly fail to capture Burgoyne now, for it had rapidly increased to over twenty thousand; while the British army, after the battle of Bennington, numbered only about seven thousand. On September 19 the English marched to attack the Americans at Bemis Heights, but were met by Arnold at Freeman's Farm and forced to stop. Had Gates sent Arnold the men for whom he had made numerous and urgent requests while the battle was raging, the British would probably have been defeated. On October 7 another battle was fought at Freeman's Farm, and this time Arnold and Morgan totally defeated the British. Arnold, with reckless bravery, led his men in the thickest of the fight and was badly wounded in the leg by a rifle ball. The success of the Americans was due largely to Arnold, although he had entered the fight against the wish of Gates, who was jealous of his great popularity with the soldiers. Burgoyne was now convinced that he could not escape, and on October 17, at Saratoga, a few miles north of Freeman's Farm, he surrendered his entire army, which had been reduced to about six thousand men.

90. Some Results of Burgoyne's Surrender.—The surrender of Burgoyne brought about some very important results. It marked the end of the second period of the war, as the capture of Boston by Washington marked the end of the first period. The British made no further attempt to conquer the middle states and separate New England from the other states. They withdrew from Philadelphia in a few months, and General Clinton, who soon took Howe's place as commander in chief of the English forces in America, placed all his troops in and around New York City. He sent out expeditions to worry and annoy the Americans, but the attention of the English from this time

on was directed to the southern states, where they soon began a campaign against North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

One of the first results of Burgoyne's surrender was the attempt of Gates to have Washington removed as commander in chief of the American forces, and to secure the position for himself. He was assisted by other officers and by some members of Congress. Conway was the name of one of the officers who assisted Gates, and because of the part he took in the plot it is known as the Conway Cabal. The plot was completely exposed, and Washington became more firmly established in the hearts of the people than ever before. They soon saw that it was he who had planned the campaign that had resulted in the capture of Burgoyne.

Another important result of Burgoyne's surrender was the alliance with France. France had been sending money and supplies to the Americans secretly, and Lafayette, a young French nobleman, had joined the American army and had become one of Washington's most trusted commanders. Soon after the destruction of Burgoyne's army France acknowledged the independence of the United States and prepared to give open assistance to the Americans. The French government did not do this because it had any special love for the Americans, but because it hated England. If England should now lose her colonies, France would feel revenged for the loss of her American empire as a result of the French and Indian War. The action of France in declaring that she would treat the United States as an independent nation soon led to war between England on one side and France and Spain on the other. This placed England in a dangerous position and was of great assistance to the Americans, because England, while fighting France and Spain, could not send many soldiers to America.

When the English government heard of Burgoyne's surrender and the alliance with France, it sent three commissioners to Congress and offered to repeal all the laws that caused the war and to give up forever the attempt to tax the Americans. England was now willing and anxious to grant the Americans everything except independence. Had this been done two years before, there would have been no war; but it was now too late.

91. Other Events of the War in the North: (a) Valley Forge; Battle of Monmouth.—The important events of the war in the North after 1777 were the battle of Monmouth, the storming of Stony Point, the Indian raids and the treason of Arnold. Washington's army had suffered great hardships at Valley Forge, where it camped during the winter of 1777-78. Many of the men did not have clothes enough to keep them warm or food enough to eat. Washington himself said that their marches could be traced by the blood stains they left on the snow, because



AT VALLEY FORGE
Washington and Lafayette

they did not have shoes to wear. But they endured it bravely and nobly, and did not complain. During this winter, Baron Steuben, who had been an officer under Frederick the Great, joined the American army at Valley Forge and drilled it better than it ever had been drilled before. As a result of his excellent work, Washington had an army of fifteen thousand well-drilled soldiers when spring came.

In June the British army of fifteen thousand left Philadelphia for New York. On June 28, 1778, Washington attacked this

army at Monmouth, New Jersey, and would very likely have won a complete victory had it not been for the treachery of Lee. Lee had been exchanged, and was a general under Washington at this battle. He was commanding a division of the army, and just as the fighting began, he ordered a retreat. Lafayette suspected Lee of treachery and sent word back to Washington, who rode up among the retreating troops in a towering rage and ordered Lee to the rear. He was dismissed from the army,



JOHN PAUL JONES

though he should have been hanged, for papers since discovered prove that he was a traitor to the American cause, and that while a prisoner at New York he advised Howe how best to defeat the Americans. In spite of Lee's work, the battle of Monmouth was almost a victory for the Americans. The British withdrew from the field during the night and continued their march to New York City.

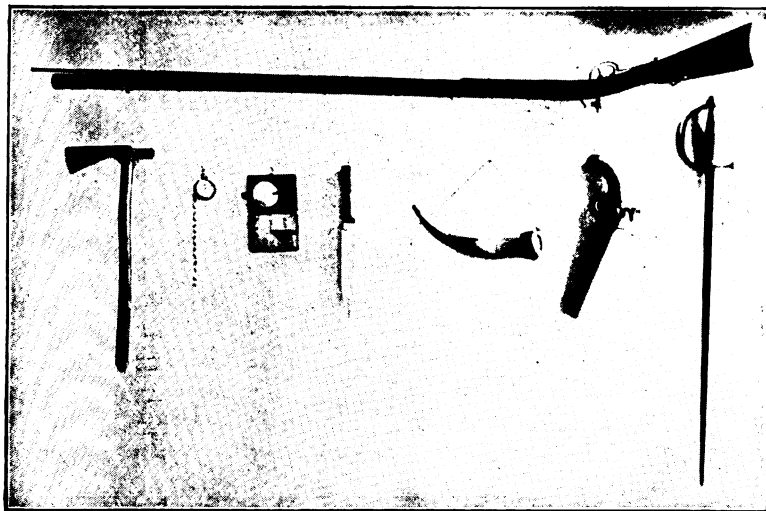
(b) *Sullivan's and Clark's Campaigns; John Paul Jones.*

—After the battle of Monmouth, so far as the northern and middle states were concerned, the British restricted

their fighting to stirring up the Indians on the frontiers and to the sending out of small expeditions to annoy the Americans. In order to stop the Indian murders and massacres, Sullivan marched into the country of the Six Nations in 1779 and completely destroyed their power. During the same year, George Rogers Clark conquered the entire country lying between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River on the north and south and the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River on the east and west. These campaigns gave the Americans title to all this vast territory

and put an end to the Indian attacks. It was during this same year, 1779, that Paul Jones, an American naval captain, destroyed many English merchant vessels. He even sailed into the English Channel, and in a brilliant and desperate fight captured two English war vessels. He did much damage to English commerce and caused much worry to English merchants.

(c) *Capture of Stony Point and Paulus Hook.*—The capture of Stony Point also took place in 1779. Stony Point was a well fortified place a short distance up the Hudson from New York



OUTFIT OF GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

City, and was held by an English force of more than six hundred. Anthony Wayne, with a force of twelve hundred men, captured this fort at midnight on the 15th of July. Not an American had his gun loaded. As they approached the defenses of the fort, the British opened a heavy fire, but in a magnificent bayonet charge the Americans pressed over the works and killed or captured every man. The Americans held Stony Point but three days; but its capture served to bring back from Connecticut a small force that Clinton had sent out for the purpose of destroying property and collecting provisions. About a month later, Henry Lee captured Paulus Hook, a small fort close to

New York City, and succeeded in getting away with more than a hundred and fifty prisoners. Henry Lee was not related to Charles Lee, who tried to cause the defeat of the American army at Monmouth. His mother was a boyhood sweetheart of Washington, and the great commander was always very fond of her son. Because of his splendid and dashing work with Greene in the southern campaign, the people called him "Light-Horse Harry." His son, Robert E. Lee, was the great Confederate general of the Civil War.

(d) *Treason of Benedict Arnold*.—It is sad to turn from these brave captures of Stony Point and Paulus Hook to the treason of Arnold. Arnold was one of Washington's ablest and bravest generals. He felt that he had not been treated right by Congress, and, in fact, it had treated him and other generals very unjustly. It had promoted such generals as Gates, Charles Lee and Conway over the heads of such generals as Arnold, Schuyler, Morgan and Stark. After the British left Philadelphia, Arnold was placed in command of that city. There he married the daughter of a Tory, and got into more trouble with Congress. He was tried by a military court, and although he was cleared of nearly all the charges, Washington was ordered to reprimand him. Washington did this very gently, because he thought a great deal of Arnold; and he soon gave him command of West Point, which was then the strongest and most important fort on the Hudson. Arnold at once made plans to surrender this fort to the English, but his plot was discovered just in time to prevent its success. Arnold succeeded in escaping to New York City; but the British officer Andre, who was helping to plan the surrender, was captured within the American lines and justly hanged as a spy. Andre, like Nathan Hale, whom Howe hanged at New York City as a spy, was an excellent man; but as in the case of Hale, the rules of war demanded that he be executed. Arnold deserved hanging far more richly than did Andre or Hale; but we should not forget that Arnold is the same man who was wounded while leading the charge at Quebec, and that the same leg that was then injured was shattered by a musket ball at Freeman's Farm while he led his men in the thickest of the fight that resulted in the surrender of Burgoyne.

Campaign Against the South

92. Surrender of Savannah and Charleston.—Soon after Congress refused the terms the English government offered through its three commissioners, whom it sent to America a few months after the surrender of Burgoyne and the signing of the French Alliance, the British gave up the two campaigns that had for their object the capture of the middle states and the separation of New England from the other states. They soon began their third general campaign of the war, which had for its object the conquest of Georgia and North and South Carolina. Earlier in the war the British had made an attack on the South,



CHARLESTON, THE BRITISH FLEET AND FORT MOULTRIE, JUNE 29, 1776

After a print published in London, August 10, 1776

but it did not prove successful. In June, 1776, Clinton, with an English fleet and army, prepared to capture Charleston. In order to meet any such attack, the Americans under Moultrie built a fort on a small island that commands the entrance to Charleston harbor. Clinton attacked this fort, but was unable to capture it. His fleet was badly damaged in the attack, and in July he sailed to New York and joined Howe in the attack on that city. Great credit is due Moultrie for saving Charleston, and in his honor the fort has ever since been called Fort Moultrie. After this defeat of Clinton, no further attack was made on the southern states until after the failure of the two northern campaigns.

During the latter part of 1778 the British captured Savannah, and they soon conquered the entire state of Georgia. In October, 1779, Lincoln and a French fleet attempted to recapture Savannah, but were defeated with a loss of more than a thousand men. During February, 1780, Clinton and Cornwallis invested Charleston with a force of about fourteen thousand men, most of whom had been brought from New York City. Lincoln



MOULTRIE

attempted to defend the city with a force of about seven thousand, but in May he was compelled to surrender Charleston and his entire army. Clinton soon returned to New York with the larger number of his soldiers, but left Cornwallis with about five thousand with which to complete the conquest of South Carolina and to attack North Carolina. During the next few months the British overran the larger part of South Carolina. The only re-

sistance made against them was by small patriot bands under such able leaders as Marion, Sumter, Pickens and Williams. Many Tories took up arms in favor of the British. This local warfare was very bitter, and often resulted in a great deal of cruel and useless destruction of life and property.

93. Defeat of Gates at Camden.—Meanwhile, Congress had sent another army south and had appointed Gates its commander, contrary to the desire of Washington, who wished Greene to have charge of the campaign. Gates had taken the



honors of Burgoyne's surrender, which belonged to Schuyler, Arnold, Morgan and Stark; but his true place as a general was soon to become clear, though at a loss to the Americans. Gates' army consisted of about three thousand men, nearly half of whom were Maryland and Delaware regulars from Washington's army. On August 16, he attacked a force of two thousand under Cornwallis near Camden, South Carolina. The Americans were defeated with a loss of more than two thousand men, while the British loss was less than three hundred and fifty. The gallant Maryland and Delaware troops made a brave and splendid record, as they had done four years before at the battle of Long Island, when Howe captured New York City. They held their ground, and in a bayonet charge broke the British line. They finally retreated, but not until nearly half their number had been either killed or wounded, and the militia had fled from the field. Gates' poor judgment was responsible for this serious defeat. He fled from the field and in four days was at Hillsboro in North Carolina, two hundred miles away. Thus in a few months two American armies had been destroyed in South Carolina.

The people in nearly all the states became very much depressed, and many began to wonder if the struggle for independence might not yet be a failure. The war at this time was really much more favorable for the Americans than it was four years before, when Washington, on Christmas night, 1776, crossed the Delaware and began his advance on Trenton. Four years of war, however, had about tired the people out, and the worthless paper money issued by Congress had nearly ruined business. The people longed for peace, and the end of the war looked as far off as ever. Little did they dream, while thus discouraged in the latter part of 1780, that the British would be driven almost entirely out of the South during the next year; that Cornwallis with an army of more than seven thousand men would be captured; and that the last battle of the war would be fought.

94. Greene's Southern Campaign:²⁹ (a) *The Situation There.*—After the destruction of Gates' army, Congress asked Washington to recommend a general to take charge of the southern campaign against the victorious British forces in the South.

Washington at once recommended Greene. He arrived at Charlotte, North Carolina, on December 2, 1780, and at once took command of Gates' army, which now numbered only about two thousand men. The army was small, but Greene, next to Washington, was perhaps the ablest American general of the war, and had under him a number of excellent officers. He had with him "Light-Horse" Harry Lee and William Washington, both of whom were excellent cavalry leaders, the last named being related to the commander in chief. Greene also had with him Morgan, Marion, Sumter and Pickens, all good and tried commanders. Opposed to these able generals and their small army was Cornwallis, who was, perhaps, the ablest British general in America during the war. In addition to his other troops in South Carolina, Cornwallis had with him, a little to the south of Greene, more than three thousand of the bravest and best troops in the English army. He also had with him Tarleton, a very able commander.



NATHANIEL GREENE

(b) *Battle of King's Mountain*.—About four weeks before Greene arrived at Charlotte, Cornwallis lost Ferguson, who like Tarleton was an officer of unusual ability. He had sent Ferguson with a force of more than eleven hundred men into the highlands of North Carolina. As Ferguson advanced the people began to gather around the British as they did at Lexington and Bennington. Ferguson became alarmed and began to retreat for the purpose of rejoining Cornwallis, but he soon saw that he must fight. He selected the top of a high hill called King's Mountain as the place of battle. The Americans stormed this strong position on October 7 and killed or captured the entire British force, the brave Ferguson himself being among the

killed. This defeat of the British greatly encouraged the people in North and South Carolina. It was under these conditions that Greene began his southern campaign, and he made the battle of King's Mountain the first of a series of American successes.

(c) *Morgan's Victory at the Cowpens.*—He sent Morgan with nine hundred men to the left of Cornwallis into the north-western part of South Carolina, and marched south with the rest to the right of the British. Cornwallis sent Tarleton with about eleven hundred men after Morgan. That general prepared for battle at the Cowpens, an open meadow just south of the North Carolina line and a short distance southwest of King's Mountain, where Ferguson had been defeated about two months before. Tarleton attacked Morgan on January 17, and was defeated with a loss of more than eight hundred. The American loss was less than seventy-five, only twelve being killed.



CORNWALLIS

Morgan, with six hundred prisoners, began a hasty retreat north, and was soon pursued by Cornwallis. When Greene heard of Morgan's victory, he rode rapidly across the country to assist in the

retreat, having sent his own army north under the command of one of his generals with instructions to stop just south of Virginia. Cornwallis could not overtake Morgan and Greene, as the retreat was very ably conducted. Both divisions of the American army united, passed into Virginia, and crossed the Dan. As Cornwallis had no boats, he could not cross this river.

(d) *Battle of Guilford Court House; Results of Greene's Campaign.*—After resting his men a few days, Greene crossed back into North Carolina and advanced toward Cornwallis, whose army now numbered less than twenty-three hundred; while Greene's force had increased to more than four thousand, but less than half of these were veterans. The two armies met

at Guilford Court House on March 15. The battle raged all the afternoon, and at evening Greene withdrew from the field with the loss of about four hundred. Cornwallis lost about six hundred, but his soldiers made a splendid fight. The battle, however, was a serious loss for him, because he had left but sixteen hundred men, while Greene's army was constantly increasing. Leaving his wounded behind, Cornwallis marched to Wilmington, on the coast of North Carolina, so as to secure re-enforcements and to be under the protection of the British fleet. Greene advanced into South Carolina and in a series of battles compelled the British to give up the entire state except the city of Charleston. The last battle was that of Eutaw Springs, fought on September 8. Thus Greene, in a magnificent campaign of nine months, had changed the entire situation in the South, and had proven himself second only to Washington as an officer.

95. Closing Events of the War: (a) *Surrender of Cornwallis.*—After remaining

at Wilmington about two weeks, Cornwallis advanced north into Virginia, where soldiers from New York soon increased his army to more than seven thousand. Washington had sent Lafayette to Virginia, and he succeeded in collecting a force of about five thousand men, most of whom were militia. Cornwallis tried to force Lafayette to give battle, but could not succeed. As the American army became larger and better drilled, Cornwallis advanced east, and in August took up a strong position at Yorktown, which is on a peninsula that projects out into Chesapeake Bay, with the James River on one side and the York River on the other. Little did Corn-



LAFAYETTE

wallis think when he went into camp at Yorktown that he would be compelled to surrender his army within the next few months.

On the 14th of August Washington learned that Admiral de Grasse was on his way from the West Indies to Chesapeake Bay with a large French fleet. Five days later Washington, with two thousand American troops and four thousand French troops, crossed the Hudson above New York City and started for Yorktown. He told no one except the French commander about his plans, and his soldiers and the people could not imagine where he was going until he had reached Philadelphia. When they learned that he was on his way to Yorktown, they went wild with delight. Clinton thought Washington and the French fleet were preparing to attack New York, and had no idea that Washington would march four hundred miles south and attempt the capture of Cornwallis. When he learned Washington's real object, it was too late for him to send re-enforcements to Cornwallis. The French fleet arrived in Chesapeake Bay on August 31, and as it was stronger than the English fleet, Cornwallis could not escape by sea.

The French fleet had on board three thousand soldiers, and when these joined the five thousand troops under Lafayette, that commander planted his entire force of eight thousand men across the neck of the peninsula and thus cut off Cornwallis' escape by land. Washington arrived on the 14th of September, and on the 26th the combined American and French army, consisting of sixteen thousand men, began to invest the British at Yorktown. Seventy cannon opened fire on the British works. On October 19, 1781 (just four years and two days after the surrender of Burgoyne), Cornwallis, after a gallant defense, surrendered his entire army, which consisted of more than seven thousand men.

(b) *Some Results of the Surrender at Yorktown.*—As the news of the surrender at Yorktown spread through the states, the people gave themselves over to general rejoicing. There were bonfires in almost every village, for the people knew that the surrender of Cornwallis, following Greene's great campaign in the South, ended the war. When the news reached Paris, flags were flung to the breeze, nearly all the houses were illuminated, and



THE SURRENDER AT YORKTOWN

A. C. COLEMAN, THE SURRENDER AT YORKTOWN, IN THE GALLERY OF THE MUSEUM OF THE ARMY, WASHINGTON

the French, like the Americans, gave themselves up to general rejoicing. When Lord North heard the news, he walked the floor of his room in great excitement, exclaiming, "My God, it is all over." When Charles Fox, one of the leaders of the House of Commons, heard it, he sprang from his chair with a shout of joy. Many of the leading statesmen of England were equally as glad as Fox that Cornwallis had been captured. Lord North, who had been Prime Minister since 1770, was soon forced by the



CHARLES FOX

House of Commons to resign, and the king was compelled to appoint in his place the leader of the Whig party, that had always been friendly to the Americans and opposed to the war. The fall of Lord North marked the end of the king's personal rule in England. Never since then has a king attempted to rule. The people, through the House of Commons, have controlled the government and made the laws, and the king has merely reigned. The surrender at Yorktown, therefore, was a glorious vic-

tory for Englishmen as well as for Americans. The Americans had fought to uphold the liberties of Englishmen, just as their ancestors in England had often done in the years gone by.

On September 3, 1783, a treaty of peace was signed at Paris, which ended the war between England on one side and France, Spain and the United States on the other. The United States secured the territory bounded by the Atlantic and the Mississippi on the east and west, and by the Great Lakes and Florida on the north and south. Thus England acknowledged the independence of the United States just eight years, four months and fifteen

days after Samuel Adams and John Hancock heard, at sunrise, while walking through the fields on their way to the second session of Congress, the musket fire between the regulars and the minute-men on the green at Lexington. The war that was at first carried on by the Americans almost solely for the protection of English liberties in America, and not for the purpose of securing independence, ended with the loss to England of the fairest and most valuable part of her Empire and in the birth of a nation that has now become a mighty power in human society.

SUMMARY OF AMERICAN REVOLUTION

NOTE: The pupil should not be required to memorize the table given below; it is for reference only.

EVENTS LEADING TO THE REVOLUTION (1765-1774)

Desire of George III for Increased Power in both England and America
Desire of Americans for Self-government

New Policy of England after French and Indian War: Enforcement of trade laws, and attempt to make colonial governors and judges independent of colonial control; armies to be kept in America for the protection of the colonists and to assist in governing the territory secured from France

New Taxes by Parliament, 1765-1774: For paying expense of English army in America and salaries of colonial judges and governors

Writs of Assistance: For enforcing trade laws

Colonies Object to Taxation: Not represented in Parliament—contrary to rights of Englishmen

England Attempts to Rule by Force, 1774: Repressive Acts; military government

Committees of Correspondence: Spread news and arouse public sentiment

First Continental Congress, September 5, 1774: Considered measures of defense and prepared addresses to the King, to Parliament and to the people of England

FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR — 1775

- Lexington and Concord, April 19, 1775:* Beginning of the Revolution
Second Continental Congress, May 10, 1775: Another petition to the King; further war measures
Capture of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, May 10, 1775: Gave Americans advantageous position; Americans secured cannon and other military supplies
Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775: Gave Americans courage in spite of defeat
Defeat at Quebec, December 31, 1775: Left the British secure in Canada

SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR — 1776

- Capture of Boston, March 17, 1776:* Gave Americans control of New England
Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776: Birth of the United States as a nation
Battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776: Weakened the American position in New York
Capture of New York, September 15, 1776: Gave the British control of the lower Hudson River Valley, and an excellent military base for their campaigns in America
Battle on Lake Champlain, October 11, 1776: Failure of attempted British invasion from Canada
Capture of Trenton, December 26, 1776: Very important to the Americans because it encouraged them and enabled them to recover most of New Jersey

THIRD YEAR OF THE WAR — 1777

- Battle of Princeton, January 3, 1777:* Caused British to abandon most of New Jersey
Battle of Bennington, August 16, 1777: Weakened Burgoyne's army
Battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777: British success; opened the way for them to Philadelphia
Battle of Bemis Heights, September 19, 1777: Burgoyne's march checked
Philadelphia Occupied by the British, September 26, 1777
Battle of Germantown, October 4, 1777: Washington again defeated, but campaign around Philadelphia prevented Howe from sending assistance to Burgoyne
Battle of Freeman's Farm, October 7, 1777: Burgoyne defeated
Battle of Saratoga, October 17, 1777: Burgoyne forced to surrender, and attempt to separate New England from the other states ended in failure; France decided to make open alliance with United States

FOURTH YEAR OF THE WAR — 1778

Treaty of Alliance with France, February 6, 1778: France now openly assisted United States with her army and navy

Battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778: Treachery of Lee probably prevented American success

Capture of Savannah, December 19, 1778: Gave British a foothold in the South

FIFTH YEAR OF THE WAR — 1779

Capture of Stony Point, July 16, 1779: Checked British raids into Connecticut

Capture of Paulus Hook, August 19, 1779

SIXTH YEAR OF THE WAR — 1780

Capture of Charleston, May 12, 1780: Loss of an American army; enabled British to overrun larger part of South Carolina

Battle of Camden, August 16, 1780: Americans defeated — largely on account of the poor generalship of Gates; British now controlled South Carolina

Treason of Arnold, September, 1780: Planned to surrender West Point to British; plot discovered

Battle of King's Mountain, October 7, 1780: American victory; marked turning point of war in the South in favor of Americans

SEVENTH YEAR OF THE WAR — 1781

Battle of Cowpens, January 17, 1781: First of Greene's successes in his southern campaign

Battle of Guilford Court House, March 15, 1781

Battle of Eutaw Springs, September 8, 1781: Last of a series of battles by which Greene recovered all of South Carolina except Charleston

Surrender of Cornwallis, October 19, 1781: England now gave up the struggle; steps taken to negotiate treaty of peace

CLOSING EVENTS OF THE WAR

Preliminary Treaty of Peace Signed November 30, 1782: Americans bound by French Treaty of Alliance of 1778 to make no final peace till France was ready to treat with England

Final Treaty of Peace Signed September 3, 1783: Independence of United States acknowledged by England, boundaries fixed and other questions settled

LOVE OF COUNTRY

Breathes there the man, with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land?
Whose heart hath ne'er within him burned,
As home his footsteps he hath turned,
From wandering on a foreign strand?
If such there breathe, go, mark him well;
For him no minstrel raptures swell;
High though his titles, proud his name,
Boundless his wealth as wish can claim;
Despite those titles, power, and pelf,
The wretch, concentered all in self,
Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
And, doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile dust, from whence he sprung,
Unwept, unhonored, and unsung.

—Walter Scott

LIFE IN THE COLONIES

LIFE IN THE COLONIES

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 - (c) The Middle and Upper Classes
2. Life on the Plantations
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II. New England

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2. Social Distinctions: Effect on New England Life
3. Dress and Amusements

III. The Middle Colonies

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 - (a) Slaves
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1. Divisions of Government
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- (b) Departments of Government
 - (1) Legislative Department
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 - (c) In what Respects State, National and Local Governments Differ
2. Colonial Government: Mode of Treatment
- (a) Departments
 - (1) Legislative Department
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- I. Religious Liberty at the Present Time
- II. Religious Persecution in Europe
- III. Religious Persecution in the Colonies
- IV. Causes of Religious Persecution
- V. Growth of Religious Liberty in the United States

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 - 3. Colleges

LIFE IN THE COLONIES

INTRODUCTORY

96. The Five Institutions:³⁰ (a) *Their Nature and Scope.*
—Five institutions or organizations exist among the people of every nation, state, city and community. They are business, or industrial life; society, or social life; the state, or government; the church, or religion; and the school, or education. These five institutions, in one form or another, may always be found, even among savages. All that any community, or its individuals, can think or do, must be thought or done along one or more of these lines. They include the entire life and work of every person and community.

(b) *Relation of the Individual to the Five Institutions.*—Among civilized peoples these institutions are plainly marked, and every person bears some relation to each of them. The nature of his work in relation to one or more of them determines to what extent he is useful or harmful to the community, state and nation. The useful, intelligent citizen follows some business or occupation successfully; he contributes to the happiness and social life of the people in whose society he lives; he takes an active interest in government or politics; he takes an active interest in ethical or religious questions; and he interests himself in the educational affairs of his community.

(c) *Importance of the Study of Institutional Life.*—What is true of an individual in this respect is true also of a nation. It is very important, therefore, in studying the history of a nation to study carefully its institutional life. A nation should be judged not so much by the battles it has fought, or by the territory it owns, as by the condition of its institutions. So far we have been studying the colonies mainly as related to their political history, or the institution of government, which includes

among other things the wars fought and the territory secured. While it is important to learn about the institution of government, it is even more important to learn about the other four institutions. We shall now study the conditions of these four institutions in the colonies, and review and study more fully the institution of government.

97. Topography, Climate and Soil:³¹ (a) *General Effect on Institutional Life.*—In the study of the growth and development of the nation, the difference between the topography, climate and soil of the several sections deserves most careful consideration. This difference determined to a certain extent that the South should be, until after the American Civil War, an almost strictly agricultural country; that much of the land should be divided into large plantations; that almost the entire time and energy of the southern people should be devoted to raising tobacco, rice, indigo and cotton; and that the labor of the South should be performed by negro slaves. It also determined to a certain extent that the people of the northern colonies should devote a large part of their time and energy to commerce and manufacturing; that the agricultural land should be divided into a large number of small farms; that many different kinds of agricultural products should be raised; that the labor of the North should be performed by freemen instead of by slaves; and that the social and political conditions of the North should be quite different from those of the South.

(b) *Their Condition in the New England and the Southern Colonies.*—The topography, climate and soil of the southern section and of New England are distinctly different. A large part of the country formerly included in the southern colonies and in all the southern states that border on the Gulf of Mexico is level, in fact almost flat. This country is drained by broad rivers that flow into the sea or into the Gulf. The soil is naturally very rich; the rainfall is abundant; the climate in summer is very hot, and, with the exception of Maryland and the northern part of Virginia, mild and pleasant in winter. The surface of New England is made up largely of hills and mountains, and is drained by short, rapid rivers. The soil naturally is not very fertile, and the climate in winter is cold and

severe. The broad, fertile plains of the South, and the hills, mountains and small valleys of New England, were covered with great, dense forests.

(c) *Their Condition in the Middle Colonies.*—The conditions of the topography and climate of this section, which embraced the colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, are about midway between those of the southern section on the one hand and of New England on the other. The soil, unlike that of New England and like that of the southern region,



TOPOGRAPHY IN THE NORTH
In the Valley of the Mohawk, New York

is rich. The rainfall is abundant, which is true also of both the other sections. The climate is not so cold as that of New England, and not so mild and pleasant as that of the southern territory. The surface of the land is not divided into so large a number of small valleys, as is the case in New England; nor does it consist of broad, extensive plains, as is the case in the southern section.

(d) *Their Relation to Slavery and the Results.*—These differences between the topography, climate and soil of the North and the South had a direct effect on the growth of slavery in these

two sections. Because of the severe climate and small farms of the North, and the attention this caused the people there to devote to commerce and manufacturing, slave labor could not be used with much profit in the northern section; and because of the warm climate and large plantations in the South, and the lack there of commerce and manufacturing caused by these large plantations, slavery could be used with great profit in the southern section. Because slave labor could not be used with much profit in the North, slavery soon ceased to exist there; and because slave labor could be used with great profit in the South,



TOPOGRAPHY IN THE SOUTH
A Valley in Virginia

slavery soon became firmly established in that section. From what has been stated above, and from the discussions that follow, it will be seen that differences in topography, climate and soil caused slavery to exist in the South and not in the North; that slavery caused the industrial, social and political conditions of these two sections to become more and more unlike; that the great difference between the industrial, social and political conditions of the North and South caused the Civil War; and that the Civil War, by destroying slavery, has caused these conditions in the two sections to become more and more alike, and has thus unified the nation.

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS²²

98. Introductory.—The institution affected most directly by topography, climate and soil is business, or industrial life. Farming; engaging in some profession, as law, medicine or the ministry; mining; manufacturing; the carrying on of trade or commerce; and all other productive things men do to make a living, comprise the institution called business, or industrial life. In order to add clearness to the treatment, the professions named above will be treated under the subhead, Professional Life in the Colonies. The other factors of Industrial life in the colonies will be treated under the subhead, Commercial Industries. Each of the three groups of colonies will be taken up separately, because industrial conditions in each group differed from those in the other two groups, and this difference had an important effect on some of the other institutions.

Commercial Industries*The Southern Colonies*

99. Products in the Southern Colonies: (a) *Tobacco.*—Tobacco is, and has been from early colonial times, one of the chief southern products. It was the first of these leading products to be grown in the southern colonies. Tobacco is a native of the New World. White men had never seen it until America was discovered. The first settlers in Virginia saw the Indians smoking the dried leaves. The English tried it and liked it so well that they took some to England, where the habit of smoking soon became very popular. Never before nor since then did any product win favor so rapidly as did tobacco in England and in the rest of Europe. The smoking of tobacco became the fashion, and the demand for the leaves of this new plant constantly and rapidly increased.

As the tobacco plant was not grown in Europe, the supply had to be obtained from the New World. The settlers of Jamestown saw at once that they could sell for a good price all they could raise. Its regular cultivation was begun about 1612, and by 1614 it had become the main, in fact, almost the only product

of the colony. All the colonists grew it. It was planted and grown even in the streets of Jamestown. Jamestown might have been abandoned had it not been for the production of tobacco. Thus it may be said that this new plant saved the first settlement in Virginia. Until about the time of the Revolution, tobacco was practically the only product raised in Virginia in quantities large enough to export. This was true of Maryland also until the close of the French and Indian War. The northern part of North Carolina raised and exported a considerable



TOBACCO ROLLING

Tobacco being drawn to market

quantity of tobacco. In 1770 Virginia was exporting about five million dollars' worth each year, and Maryland almost one half million dollars' worth. The whole life of these two colonies centered around its production. In order to keep the price fair and uniform, laws were made for the purpose of regulating its production and the quality that should be exported. This was necessary because tobacco was used as the money of these two colonies. A man's wealth was counted in pounds of tobacco. He sold his goods for it and paid for them with it. But laws could not regulate the price of tobacco. Sometimes it was high, sometimes low, according to the size of the crop and the demand

for it in Europe. This worked a great hardship to many people. When prices were high, the creditor was injured; when prices were low, the debtor was injured. If a man paid a debt when the price of tobacco was high, it required much less tobacco to pay it than when the price was very low.

(b) *Rice, Indigo and Cotton.*—Rice, indigo and, later, cotton were the three principal products of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. These three products were as important in the three most southern colonies as was tobacco in Virginia and Maryland. Like tobacco, they caused the growth of large plantations and were the principal articles of export.

In 1694 rice was introduced into South Carolina from the island of Madagascar. It was raised extensively in North Carolina and later in Georgia, but South Carolina led in its production. The quality of rice produced in these three southern colonies was the best in the world. Many large plantations were devoted almost exclusively to its production, and large quantities were exported. For a long time the price of rice was high, and the planters became rich rapidly. Many of the large planters in South Carolina lived in Charleston, and employed men called overseers to look after the plantations and manage the slaves. The fact that most of those who owned the large plantations lived in Charleston caused it to become the center of commerce and social life in the far South. At the time of the revolution it was the largest, wealthiest and most important city in all the southern colonies.

After a while, about 1740, so much rice was raised that the price fell, and its production became less profitable than in former years. This caused an increased production of indigo, which had been introduced from the West Indies, and by 1750 it had become quite an important southern product.

Some cotton was raised in South Carolina and Georgia, but very little for export. It was not until after the Revolution and the invention of the cotton gin, a machine for removing the seed from the fibre, that cotton became the one great product of the South. After the invention of this device, the immense production of cotton tended to displace all other products, and caused the large plantations, which had been created by the

extensive production of rice and indigo, to increase rather than diminish in size. This was true especially of the far South.

(c) *Other Products*.—Among other things produced in the southern colonies were wheat, rosin, turpentine, hogs and cattle. Just before the Revolution, Virginia and Maryland each produced considerable wheat for export in addition to supplying enough for home use. The three other southern colonies together produced enough for home use, but little, if any, for export. North Carolina produced for export considerable quantities of turpentine and rosin. It had a much larger variety of farm and other products than any of the other southern colonies, and it contained a larger number of small farms and fewer large plantations than any of the others.

100. Plantations in the South: (a) *Effect on Growth of Cities and Manufactures*.—The extensive production of tobacco in Virginia and Maryland, and of indigo, rice and cotton in the other southern colonies, is closely related on the one side to topography, climate and soil, and on the other side to slavery and other industrial and social conditions. The climate and soil of the southern colonies were well suited to the extensive production of these staples, and the broad plains encouraged the growth of large plantations, each under the control of one man. The large number of rivers running through these rich plains made it easy for most of the plantations to maintain their own warehouses. The three or four hundred vessels engaged in carrying the tobacco of Virginia and Maryland to the markets of Europe and other countries usually called at the warehouses on the different plantations along the rivers and bought the tobacco directly from the planters. This same plan was followed, to a large extent, with the indigo, rice and cotton of the other southern colonies, except that a large amount of these products was floated down the smaller streams on barges to central points on the larger rivers. Especially was this true in South Carolina, where Charleston was the main point of distribution. The vessels that came to the plantations for the tobacco, rice, indigo and cotton brought the cloth and clothing, farming machinery, tools and all the other things the planter needed but could not or did not produce on his own plantation. This habit of the

planters of buying from and selling to the vessels that came from Europe or the northern colonies, was one of the main reasons why there were no large cities in the southern colonies. Each large plantation was a little world in itself, and the planter and his slaves devoted their time to raising tobacco, indigo, rice or cotton. As the planter bought almost everything he needed directly from the northern colonies or from Europe, there was no inducement for towns to grow, or for men to engage in making or manufacturing even many of the common necessities of life.



CHARLESTON AT THE TIME OF THE REVOLUTION

(b) *Relation of Plantations to Growth of Slavery.*—When the tobacco was planted, and when it was gathered and prepared for market, a large amount of labor was required, and the same was true even to a greater extent in the production of indigo, rice and cotton. Slave labor was cheap and well suited to the work. When a Dutch vessel in 1619 brought a few negro slaves to Jamestown, most of them were brought for work on the tobacco plantations. It was very difficult to secure white labor in early Virginia and Maryland, and still more difficult in the far southern colonies. The planter soon came to depend almost entirely on negro slaves for labor, and as the plantations

increased in number and size, the demand for slave labor became more and more urgent and the number of slaves increased rapidly. The records of population in the southern colonies are not very reliable, but it is safe to say there were at the time of the Revolution about as many slaves as white people in these five colonies, the number of each class being between five hundred thousand and six hundred thousand.

New England

101. Occupations in New England: (a) *Farming*.—The people of New England, unlike those of the southern colonies, did not obtain the larger part of their wealth from the extensive production of a few staples. The hills and mountains divided the country into small valleys, and this alone was a strong factor in preventing the growth of large plantations. In addition to this, the soil, as a rule, was poor, and the climate severe and disagreeable in the winter and spring, though pleasant in the summer and autumn. Because of these conditions the farms were small as compared with the large plantations of the South. Farmers had to work very hard in order to raise a good crop of anything. With the exception of Connecticut, it was difficult for any New England colony to produce more food than it required for its own use, but the variety of products was much greater than in the southern colonies. In Connecticut, especially in the Connecticut Valley, the soil was very good. In addition to supplying the home demand, this colony exported hay, grain and cattle.

(b) *Manufacturing*.—These conditions made it almost impossible for New England to become wealthy and prosperous by farming. The people of New England, therefore, devoted a large part of their time and energy to fishing, to commerce, and to manufacturing. Although the policy of England hampered the growth of manufacturing, many things were made, and the foundation was laid for the great manufacturing establishments that sprang up after the Revolution. Almost every man was of necessity a mechanic, and learned to work with poor tools with remarkable success. The result of this was noticed by

foreign travelers, whom the New England villages reminded of Europe, and who noted the streets lined with shops where every form of trade was busily plied. The New England farmer, as a rule, made many of his tools and much of his furniture. There were many shops devoted entirely to the making of these things. The women spun flax and wool on the spinning wheels, wove the cloth on hand looms and made it into clothing. The swiftly running rivers furnished the power for thousands of sawmills and gristmills. The sawmills prepared lumber not only for home



JOHN WINTHROP'S MILL, NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT

use but also for export, and the gristmills ground some of the wheat and corn raised in the other colonies as well as that raised in New England. Thus it will be seen that while the New England colonies contained no large manufacturing establishments, they made a large number of things in many small shops. After the Revolution, when the conditions were more favorable, these small shops gradually developed into large manufacturing establishments.

(c) *The Fisheries, Trade and Commerce.*—One great source of wealth in New England was the fisheries. Although the

coast was rugged, wild and stormy, the colonists caught an immense number of fish. The whale and the cod fisheries were especially profitable. By 1750 the value of the fish caught each year was more than one and one-half million dollars. While much of this fish was consumed at home, large quantities were shipped to Europe and the West Indies. Fish and fish oil were the principal articles of export, although small quantities of other products also were exported, such as lumber, hay, rum, grain and cattle.

But for every dollar's worth of goods exported there were usually more than two dollars' worth imported. This condition of trade would soon ruin any country, because a country cannot long buy twice as many dollars' worth of goods as it sells and still remain prosperous, unless it has some special conditions in its favor. The New England colonists met this adverse condition of exports and imports by devoting a great deal of their attention to commerce. New England built the best ships in the world. She built all her own vessels and many for other nations. She carried nearly all her own exports in her own ships; she carried much of the exports and imports of the other colonies; and New England ships, manned by New England sailors, became an important factor in the commerce of the West Indies and of Europe. Just before the Revolution New England had more than a thousand vessels engaged in foreign commerce, and more than two thousand engaged in the fisheries and domestic commerce. In spite of the fact that her soil was poor, and that she imported two dollars' worth of goods for every dollar's worth that she exported, the wealth derived from her fisheries and from her extensive commerce, together with the industry and thrift of her people, made New England wealthy, and caused the growth of many prosperous towns and cities. Although by nature she was poor, her people made her rich.

102. Relation of Physical Conditions in New England to Slavery.—It is interesting to consider what the results in New England might have been had the physical conditions been the same as in the southern colonies. What would the result have been if, instead of the hilly country, poor soil and cold winters, New England had had a warm, pleasant climate, and broad,

fertile plains suited to the extensive production of a few staples, such as tobacco, rice and cotton? The chances are that the people of New England would have devoted much less attention to the fisheries and to commerce, and much more attention to the extensive production of those staples that would bring them the most money. The chances are that the country would have been divided into large plantations, and that upon these plantations would have been a large slave population. At one time slavery existed in all the New England colonies, but slave labor could not be used with profit on the small farms, in the fisheries or in commerce, and for this reason it was gradually abolished. There was very little moral sentiment in New England against slavery until long after the Revolution.

The Middle Colonies

103. Occupations in the Middle Colonies: (a) Agriculture.—As already stated, the soil of the middle colonies was rich, and the climate was neither so mild as that of the southern colonies nor so cold and severe as that of New England. The surface of the country east of the Appalachian Mountains, where nearly all the people in the middle colonies lived, was not divided into so many nor such small valleys as was the case in New England, nor did it consist of broad plains, as in the southern colonies. These conditions would naturally give rise to many prosperous farms, and to the growing of a large variety of farm products. This was true. Nearly all kinds of farm products were raised, but no one product on a vast scale as was true of tobacco, rice and indigo in the southern colonies. The fact that the soil and climate were suited to many products tended to prevent the growth of large plantations and the extensive production of only a few staples. Wheat was the chief product. It was exported in large quantities, and this was true also of other farm produce. In all the middle colonies more cattle were raised than were required for home use. Taken all in all, the condition of agriculture was better in the middle colonies than in the others. Especially was this true in Pennsylvania, where better methods of farming were used than in any other colony.

(b) *Growth of Manufacturing: Opposition of England.*—The middle colonies, like New England, were beginning to manufacture various articles. There were no large manufacturing establishments, such as exist to-day in the United States; but the people of these colonies, like those of New England, were making the beginnings and laying the foundations for the great manufacturing industries of the present time. The beginnings were small, but they indicated clearly the desire and the ability of the people to manufacture the articles they needed instead of



PHILADELPHIA FROM WEST JERSEY SHORE, 1754

Made by direction of Nicholas Scull, Surveyor General of Province of Pennsylvania

importing all of them from England or from some other country. In New York, cloth, hats and glass were manufactured, but not to any great extent. Sawmills and gristmills were numerous, and did a large business. In Pennsylvania many articles were manufactured. A large part of the clothing worn was made in the colony, and some was exported. Iron ore was mined, made into pig iron and exported, the amount during some of the years between 1750 and 1765 reaching nearly four thousand tons. Ships were built in Philadelphia, and the gristmills of Pennsylvania made into flour much of the wheat raised in Maryland and Virginia.

England did all she could to prevent the growth of manufacturing in the colonies. Men in England who were engaged in manufacturing induced the English Parliament to pass laws interfering with, and even prohibiting, the manufacture of certain articles in the colonies. These laws, as a rule, were not obeyed by the colonists. They indicated, however, a selfish and short-sighted policy on the part of those who had control of Parliament, and they served to irritate the colonists. It should be remembered, however, that all nations, at that time, believed colonies should be of value to the commerce and industry of the mother country, even if the result was of some injury to the colonies. There was some good reason for this. The people of the mother country were compelled to help protect the colonies from the attack of other nations, and they had a right to expect some compensation in return. Just what a colony should give in return for this protection was a question never solved satisfactorily to all concerned.

(c) *Trade and Commerce*.—Boston, New York and Philadelphia were the three most important commercial cities in the colonies. At the time of the Revolution the commerce of New York amounted to about four and one-half million dollars annually, about five hundred vessels and between six and seven thousand seamen being employed. The commerce of Philadelphia exceeded five million dollars yearly, more than five hundred vessels and seven thousand seamen being engaged in this industry. The ships of New York and Philadelphia carried goods to nearly all the civilized nations of the world, bringing back goods in return. The goods imported from other countries were usually manufactured articles, such as clothing, crockery, tools and furniture. The goods exported were fish, furs, lumber, some minerals, and products of the farm. Pennsylvania and New York, especially the latter, carried on a very profitable fur trade with the Indians. These furs were an important article of export.

104. Relation of Industrial Conditions in the Middle Colonies to the Growth of Slavery.—The industrial conditions in the middle colonies made slave labor of more value than in New England, but of much less value than in the South. There were many prosperous farms in the middle colonies, but they were

small as compared with the large plantations of the South, and on them were grown a great variety of products. This condition of agriculture was due to topography, climate and soil. As has been stated, slave labor could not be used with much profit on small farms, nor in manufacturing and commerce. For these reasons the middle colonies had a much smaller number of slaves than the southern colonies, and because farming was more important, and climate as a rule milder than in New England, the middle colonies, especially the more southern of them, had a larger slave population than did Massachusetts and her sister colonies. In none of the middle colonies, however, was the slave population more than ten per cent of the total population, while in New England it was less than three per cent of the total population.

The Quakers were opposed to slavery as a matter of principle, but there was no other important class of people in any of the colonies that opposed slavery on moral grounds. There were, of course, a few men and women in all the colonies who opposed slavery because they thought it morally wrong, but their influence on this question was of very little importance. The growth of slavery was not determined by sentiment, at least not to any great extent. After the Revolution, and even before, slowly and gradually there grew up in the middle colonies and in New England a moral sentiment against it; but a discussion of this phase of the subject must be postponed for the present.

105. Conclusions as to Influence of Topography, Climate and Soil.—In closing this brief study of industrial conditions in the colonies, it is again important to note carefully that topography, climate and soil controlled the growth of slavery by determining the industrial conditions. Slavery became an important part of the southern plantation life. After the invention of the cotton gin had increased greatly the production of cotton, slavery became still more profitable, and hence still more firmly rooted in southern society. Natural conditions in the North, by making slavery of but little value to the people, made free labor the basis of industrial life. These differences in the industrial conditions of the North and South caused the two sections to develop along different lines, and to grow farther and farther

apart. It thus becomes clear that the difference in topography, climate and soil of the two sections, by determining their industrial conditions, controlled the growth of slavery, and hence was the leading or fundamental cause of the American Civil War.

PROFESSIONAL LIFE *

106. The Ministry: (a) *In New England.*—At the present time in the United States medicine and law are two of the most respected and honored of the professions. Many of the ablest and best men are either lawyers or doctors. Some of the best institutions of learning are devoted entirely to training men for these professions. Lawyers and doctors, however, have not always held this high position and been thus respected. In early colonial times, except in Pennsylvania, the professions of law and medicine amounted to very little. Before 1750 there were very few men of ability who devoted their entire time to either of these professions. But it was different with the profession of



JONATHAN EDWARDS

One of the ablest theologians and writers

the ministry. The ministers, as a rule, were well educated and had more influence than the members of any other profession or class. The ministers of early New England were among the ablest in all the colonies. This was due to the fact that the Puritans came to the New World in congregations, and because of their religious beliefs. The ministers were the leaders in these ideas, and were looked up to by the members of their congregations with a respect that amounted almost to reverence. In addition to this leadership in religion, they were nearly all well educated, most of them being college graduates.

Moreover, in Massachusetts, Plymouth and New Haven, the church and state were closely united, and the ideas of the ministers, therefore, usually controlled the acts of the legislature. There are but few instances in history where the ministers of any church had so much real influence and leadership over the people as they did in the early history of these three colonies. After Massachusetts became a royal province, a change gradually took place. Fully half of the people in Massachusetts by this time were not Puritans, and when the new charter permitted men to vote and hold office, no matter what their religious ideas were, the ministers lost much of their influence over the legislature, the governors and the courts. They retained their leadership, however, in education and literature and thus still exerted great influence, and they were by far the strongest factor in shaping the moral and intellectual growth of New England.

(b) *In the Middle Colonies.*—In the middle colonies the ministers of the different churches ranked high. As a rule they were able, well educated, honest and energetic, and impressed their characters in many ways on the life of the people. The Quaker ministers, and the ministers of the Dutch Reformed church, of the Presbyterian church, and of the Congregational church and other churches were leaders of the communities in which they lived, and were most persistent in their endeavors to establish schools and to improve the general condition of the people. Their live, active work in almost every community was of great value, and was by far the most important factor in improving the moral and intellectual conditions of the mass of the people.

(c) *In the South.*—In most of the southern colonies the Episcopal church was the state church, and in Virginia and, for some time, in Maryland it was supported by public taxes. A man was compelled to pay taxes to support this church, whether he was a member of it or not. In all the other colonies—except in some of the New England colonies for a short time—the minister was supported by the members of his church, and no public money was used for this purpose. There were worthy and able ministers of the Episcopal church in the South, but it so happened that some of those sent over from England were

men who had been unsuccessful at home. Under the conditions prevailing, the ministers of the Established church in the southern colonies exerted less influence than the ministers of the other colonies. This was true except in South Carolina, where the Episcopal ministers were usually well educated and did good work. After the Revolution, when public funds were no longer used to support the Established church, it declined rapidly for a while in Virginia and Maryland. Soon, however, it began to



POHICK CHURCH, MOUNT VERNON
Church in which Washington worshiped

build up on a solid basis. The members of the church refused to support those ministers who were not able and efficient, and as their salaries were no longer paid from the public funds, they were compelled to go into some other line of work. A better class of men took their places, and the church secured more influence than ever before, and became a strong factor in uplifting society. The ministers of the other churches in the southern colonies, like those in the middle colonies, were as a rule able men, usually well educated. They did what they could to estab-

lish schools, but were not successful. They could have accomplished much more in Virginia had they not been persecuted and driven from the colony.

107. Status of the Medical Profession.—As has been stated, medicine as a profession amounted to very little in the colonies, especially before 1750. This profession developed earliest and most rapidly in Pennsylvania, and in this respect Massachusetts ranked second. From the very first in Pennsylvania there were some physicians who had been educated in the universities of England and were well qualified to practice medicine. These did all they could to advance the profession. In 1734 the first medical treatise in the colonies was produced. This was written by Dr. Cadwalader, from London, who later gave a course of lectures on anatomy and physiology, and in 1750 became one of the first physicians of the hospital in Philadelphia. In 1760 Dr. Sheppen and Dr. Morgan established in Philadelphia a medical college, which five years later became a part of the University of Pennsylvania. There were fewer quacks in Pennsylvania than in any of the other colonies. In New England, and especially in the southern colonies, druggists and barbers often practiced medicine and surgery along with their regular occupations. Owing to the lack of special training of physicians, the people had but little respect for the medical profession. There were but few good doctors in the southern colonies.

Many of the ministers of early New England had studied medicine before leaving England. They frequently acted as doctors, and were better than most of those engaged in the profession. After these early ministers died, the profession for a time fell into the hands of quacks who knew little about medicine. But the ability of the doctors soon improved, and the profession became more and more respected. Just before the Revolution there were many able physicians in New England, and they were highly respected. New England, however, was behind Pennsylvania in the matter of hospitals and medical education.

108. Growth of the Legal Profession.—The profession of law was of more importance in New England and Pennsylvania than in any of the other colonies, as was the case with the profession of medicine. Virginia, however, just before the Revolution, had

as many good lawyers as New England, and more than Pennsylvania or any of the other colonies. For a long time in New England, and for a longer time in Virginia, there were so few able lawyers that the profession could hardly be said to exist at all. In Pennsylvania, on the other hand, there were a number of fairly good lawyers from the very first, and the profession was held in high esteem, which was not the case in any of the other colonies. From about 1750 the profession of law in New England was represented by a large number of very excellent lawyers, and a little later the same was true in Virginia.

Among the New England lawyers at this time were John Adams, Samuel Quincy, Samuel Gridley and James Otis; among those in Virginia were Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry and George Mason. These, and other lawyers and statesmen of great ability, were just in time to prepare the colonies for and guide them through the Revolution, and to help put into effect the Constitution of the United States. Many of them



PATRICK HENRY

made world-wide reputations. To their wisdom and common sense the people of the United States owe a great debt of gratitude.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS*

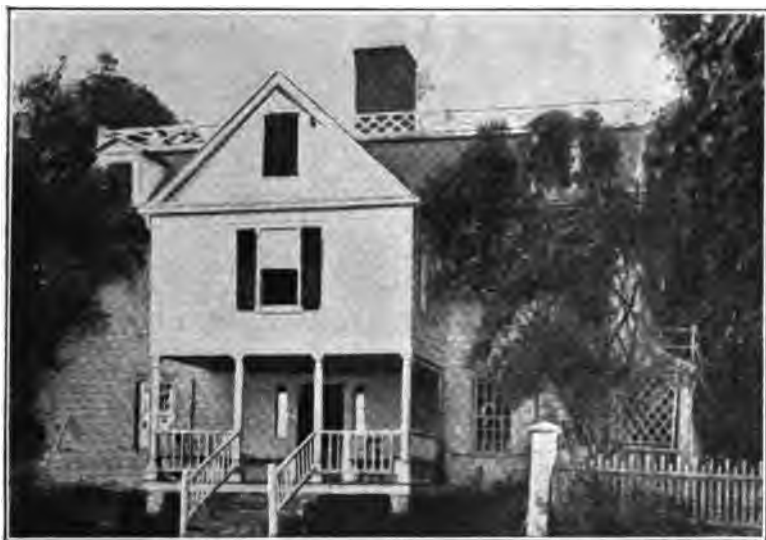
109. Introductory: (a) *Nature and Relation to the Other Institutions.*—The amusements of people, the social relations among the various classes of society, treatment of neighbors, customs of dress, daily manner of speaking and acting toward others, and all other things that interest or amuse men in a social way, constitute the social life of a people. Many of these

social factors are closely related to industrial conditions. It will be seen from this discussion on the institution of social life, that the social conditions in the southern colonies, in New England, and in the middle colonies differed, and that this difference was due largely to the difference in the industrial conditions in these groups of colonies. The discussion already given on industrial conditions will, therefore, bear a close relation to the discussion on social conditions which follows. In fact, the more closely the history of any nation is studied, the plainer it becomes that its five institutions are closely related. The social conditions of a nation are closely related to each of its other four institutions—business, government, religion and education. Therefore, when studying any one of the five institutions of a nation, it is important to understand the relation of that institution to each of the other four.

(b) *Conditions Affecting Social Life.*—It is not easy for the boys and girls and the men and women of to-day to realize how the people of the colonies lived, dressed and amused themselves. This is due largely to the difference between the conditions that existed in the colonies and those existing at the present time. It becomes necessary, therefore, to note carefully some of the conditions that made social life in the colonies differ so much from the social life of to-day. Among the more important conditions that affected social life in the colonies were the newness of the country, the poor means of transportation and communication, and, in the southern colonies, the large plantations and mode of farming. The people in the colonies lived in the edge of a mighty forest that covered the entire country. At times this forest must have seemed to the lonely settlers as vast as the sea and as silent as death. They did not know how far this great forest extended, or what wild animals or races of men it contained. This life in the edge of a great, silent and unexplored forest, and on the edge of the sea, affected the customs and habits of the people. The effect of this solitude on the lives of the southern people was emphasized by the lack of cities and towns, and by the nature of plantation life. Nearly all the people lived on large plantations, and these were usually far apart. This caused the people to visit one another less frequently than they

would have done had they lived in cities or closer together on small farms.

The poor means of transportation and communication in colonial times tended to make the life of the settlers still more lonely. Modes of travel and communication have a profound effect on social life. This is well illustrated in the changes that have taken place since colonial times. At the present time, a person while eating breakfast can read in his morning paper about



COLONIAL TAVERN AT RIDGEFIELD, CONNECTICUT

Stopping place for stages between Boston and New York. Many Colonial leaders stopped here

all the important things that have taken place in the civilized part of the world up to midnight of the day before. Often a new style of dress, or a new invention of some kind, will be used in many parts of the world within a few months after it is first made. It was quite different in the colonies. There were no railroads or telegraphs or telephones in the world at that time. The fastest way to travel was by the use of the horse on land and the sailing vessel on water. All mail and news had to be carried by the same means, and it should be remembered that there were few

roads then, and that most of those were usually in a very bad condition. If Boston had been burned, it would have been five or six days before the news would have reached New York, and many more days before the people in Virginia would have heard of it. This slow means of travel and communication made life in the colonies, especially in the southern colonies, much more isolated and lonely than it would have been had railroads and telegraphs existed. It also affected the customs and habits of the people by preventing them from becoming acquainted readily with the customs and habits of others. All these conditions had a great deal to do with making social life in the colonies so different from that of to-day.

The Southern Colonies

110. Population and Classes of Society.—At the time of the Revolution the number of people living in the five southern colonies about equaled the total population of all the other colonies. Virginia, with its population of about six hundred and seventy thousand, contained at least a third more than any one of the other thirteen colonies, and about as many as all the other southern colonies combined.

Taken as a whole, the people of the southern colonies consisted of four classes—the negro slaves, the white servants and poor whites, the middle class and the upper class. It is not exactly correct, however, to apply this statement to all the southern colonies, because in some of them there were but three classes. Nor was there a distinct line separating the middle class from the upper class. The former class, which consisted of those who owned the smaller farms and plantations, shaded gradually into the upper class, which consisted of those who owned the larger plantations. In South Carolina there were but three classes, the two lower and the upper, there being only a few small farmers except on the frontier. In North Carolina and Georgia, also, there were but three classes, the two lower classes and the middle class, there being very few large plantations in the two colonies; although in Georgia, just before the Revolution, the number of large plantations

began to increase rapidly. There were but three classes of society in the mountain and plateau region that extended from Maryland south through the southern colonies. There were very few slaves in this region, and no upper class. Most of the population consisted of those who owned small farms.

Up to the time of the Revolution, therefore, nearly all the large plantations of the South were found in Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina, and upon these large plantations was the



larger part of the slave population. The large plantations did not extend back more than one hundred and fifty miles from the coast, and most of them were within one hundred miles of it.

111. The Slave: (a) *Danger from Negro Insurrection.*—Far below all other classes was the negro slave. He was under the absolute control of his master, and could be bought and sold as property. Only a few of the slaves could read or write. They were purposely kept in dense ignorance in order that the danger of insurrection might be lessened. White people in the southern colonies, and in some of the northern colonies also, lived

in constant fear of a negro uprising. It was but natural that the negroes should be expected to unite secretly, and at a given signal begin the destruction of the whites. In Virginia the negroes outnumbered the whites, and in South Carolina there were at least two negroes to every white man. Many of the negroes had been brought direct from Africa, where they had been captured by the slave traders. They were savages. The wonder is that with so many negroes of this character among the black population there were not some serious uprisings among slaves in some parts of the South, resulting in the wholesale slaughter of the whites. Several negro plots were discovered in Virginia just in time to prevent outbreaks. In South Carolina, in 1740, an insurrection did break out. It was soon put down, but while it lasted the negroes killed men, women and children. The constant dread of such uprisings is seen plainly in many of the laws passed in the southern colonies.

(b) *Laws Relating to Slaves.*—The laws relating to the negro slave were often severe, and especially was this true of many of those in South Carolina and Georgia. The main object of the severe laws was to regulate the conduct of the negro so as to prevent an uprising. They were not allowed to leave the plantation to which they belonged, without a permit. If a slave ran away, he might be killed by any one on sight, or, if captured, he could be punished severely at public expense. A white man could not be imprisoned for killing a negro, but he might be fined. Negroes were not permitted to carry any firearms, nor could a negro testify against a white man, although he could testify against a negro. In South Carolina white men were required to go to church armed, so as to be ready for a negro uprising. Most of these laws, and others calling for severe punishments for certain offenses, were the direct outgrowth of the well-grounded fear of the whites of slave insurrections.

(c) *Treatment of Slaves on Small Plantations.*—The severe laws relating to slavery would seem to indicate that the negroes were badly treated. As a rule, this was not the case. The purpose of these laws was to prevent a negro outbreak. The negroes were not often treated cruelly. In Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, and on all the small farms and plantations

in all the colonies, both North and South, the negroes were usually treated kindly. They had plenty to eat, were comfortably clothed, and were not required to work too hard. The master usually took a personal interest in the welfare of his slaves. Many of the negro families had little garden plots on which to raise produce for their own tables. The negroes were encouraged by their masters to become Christians, and on the large plantations in Virginia and Maryland they often came



SLAVE QUARTERS ON A CAROLINA RICE PLANTATION

together on Sundays for religious instruction. In the evenings and on Sundays they often met socially, and sang negro melodies, and played and danced. No doubt it is true that a majority of the negroes in the South lived a better and perhaps a happier life than did their half-savage relatives in Africa. Of course all the negroes were not so well treated. There were some inhuman masters who used the whip, and who sold husband away from wife, and parent from child. It would have been most remarkable if there had been no masters of this kind.

To-day there are men of the same kind in all parts of the world. The man who abuses his wife or child, or treats a horse or any other animal cruelly, would treat a slave in the same way.

(d) *Treatment by Overseers.*—In addition to those slaves who were ill treated by the few cruel masters, there were many on the large plantations in South Carolina and Georgia who had a very hard time. Most of the large planters in South Carolina lived in Charleston, and left the control of their plantations and negroes to overseers. These overseers were often cruel, and did not take the interest in the negroes that the master would have taken had he lived on his plantation. The overseer wished to produce as much rice or indigo as possible for his employer, and in order to do this worked the slaves too hard and otherwise abused them. Work in the low, swampy fields, where most of the rice and indigo was raised, was very unhealthful. Negroes working in these rice and indigo fields did not live to a very old age. This statement regarding the treatment of negroes in Georgia and South Carolina applies, however, only to the large rice and indigo plantations, which usually were in the hands of overseers. The negroes employed in these colonies as house servants, and on the smaller plantations, were usually well treated, like those in the other colonies. At the time of the Revolution the Virginia legislature came very nearly passing a law that would gradually have freed the slaves, but after the Revolution this sentiment died out rapidly.

(e) *Some Effects of Slavery.*—Negro slavery seriously affected conditions in the southern colonies. Among other things, it caused the southern people to look on manual labor as degrading, and fit only for slaves. This attitude toward labor brought about important results. It caused those immigrants from Europe who expected to work for wages for a while, and afterward to buy small farms, or engage in some other business for themselves, to avoid the South and to settle in the North. Thus thousands of excellent citizens were kept out of the South. As slave labor was well suited only to farming and housework, the lack of skilled white labor prevented the development of manufacturing and of the great natural resources of the South. All this tended to make the South

settle down still more firmly to plantation life and to the production of a few great staples. Southern life was being molded more and more closely around the institution of slavery. There were many things that caused the southern people to accept slavery as a matter of course; but none, perhaps, had more influence in this respect than the fact that the master's children, from infancy, were nursed and cared for by the negro house servants. The negroes often became as fond of their master's



THE KITCHEN ON A SOUTHERN PLANTATION

Most of the cooking in the South was done by the negroes

children as they were of their own. All these things tended to cause the negro and his master to look upon slavery as the natural condition of society.

112. Indented White Servants.—Indented white servants were found in all the thirteen colonies. An indented white servant was a person sold to some one for a certain number of years. During the term of the indenture, or contract, he belonged to his master, and could not leave him without his consent; but after he had served the time specified in the indenture, he became free. These indented servants and the

poor whites comprised the second class of society in the colonies, which ranked far above that represented by the negro slave.

(a) *Number and Character of Indented Servants.*—Fiske estimates that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries about fifty thousand of these indented servants were sent from the British Isles to America, and this estimate is probably none too large. In character and ability they ranged all the way from English, Scotch and Irish prisoners of war, who had been captured while fighting for a principle, to the common thief and felon. Many boys and girls were stolen from the streets of London and sent over to the colonies as indented servants. Many poor, but honest and hard-working, men and women became indented servants in order to pay their passage to America. A large number of the indented servants, however, belonged to the most worthless and degraded class found in the large cities of England. When they became free they formed the most undesirable class in the colonies, comprising to a large extent the "poor whites" and the criminal class. When those of better character became free, they accumulated property and were industrious, respectable citizens. Some became large land-owners, and a few were elected to the legislatures.

(b) *Laws Relating to Indented White Servants.*—Lodge, in his admirable discussion of the indented servant, says: "As early as the year 1623 laws were framed to compel obedience to masters, and for the next three years there was much severe legislation to regulate the servants. They were not allowed to marry without leave of their masters; if they ran away, additional service was their punishment; and for their second offense, branding on the cheek, while those who harbored them were subjected to heavy penalties. If they came without indentures, they were to serve four years, and years of service were added for an assault on their master, for engaging in trade, or refusing to work, as well as for running away. These provisions of the law enabled grasping masters greatly to protract the period of servitude, and rendered the condition of the servants miserable in the extreme. The only protection afforded them was the right of public burial, and if their death was under suspicious circumstances, the neighbors were to view the body.

They were coarsely clothed, and fed upon meal and water sweetened with molasses, and were frequently punished with great barbarity. They were, as a class, of very poor character, for the most part transported convicts and the scum of the London streets."

113. The Middle and Upper Classes.—The middle class in the southern colonies, as already stated, was composed of the traders, merchants and small landholders. The upper class was composed of the large landholders. The traders and merchants were held in contempt by the men who owned the



A SOUTHERN MANSION

Mount Vernon, the home of Washington

land. Especially was this true where such business was considered below the dignity of a gentleman. There was no material difference between the large and the small landowners. Both came from the best old English stock. They intermarried, and the small farmer often increased his holdings until he became one of the large landholders. The owners of large plantations were much like the country gentlemen in England, except that their isolation and ownership of slaves made them more independent and aristocratic. They may have lacked some of the outward polish of their cousins in England, but they were true gentlemen, independent, and would permit no interference from

any source. They ruled the colony in which they lived, and were given cordial support by all the other classes. They were brave and emphatic in their defense of English liberty. When they thought that the mother country was trying to deprive them of their liberties, they cast their lot almost to a man on the side of the colonies, and were loyal and active in support of the Revolution. During this period Virginia alone gave to the nation Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Marshall, Henry and many other able men. These men were all leaders in the struggle that gave birth to the nation. Nothing could be a better or stronger proof of the ability of the upper class in Virginia than the fact that in one generation it produced three Presidents of the United States, the commander in chief of the American army in the Revolution, and the greatest English jurist that ever lived. Well may Virginia and her neighbors be especially proud of the record their sons made during this period.

114. Life on the Plantations.—The conditions on the large plantations tended to develop men of strong character and ability. Men with small capacity for doing things could not have managed successfully the affairs of a large plantation. There were more than five hundred persons on some of them, and their management required considerable ability. General John Mason, in describing his father's plantation, gives a good idea of the duties of a large planter. George Mason, who owned this plantation, had about five hundred slaves. He was a leading Virginian, and a member of the convention that framed the present Constitution of the United States. The son, in his description, says: "It was very much the practice of gentlemen of landed and slave estates in the interior of Virginia so to organize them as to have considerable resources within themselves; to employ and pay but few tradesmen, and to buy little or none of the coarse stuffs and materials used by them, and this practice became stronger and more general during the long period of the Revolutionary War which in a great measure cut off the means of supply from elsewhere. Thus my father had among his slaves carpenters, coopers, sawyers, blacksmiths, tanners, curriers, shoemakers, spinners, weavers, and knitters, and even a distiller. His woods furnished timber and plank for

the carpenters and coopers, and charcoal for the blacksmith; his cattle killed for his own consumption and for sale supplied skins for the tanners, curriers, and shoemakers; and his sheep gave wool, and his fields produced cotton and flax for the weavers and spinners, and his orchard fruits for the distiller. His carpenters and surveyors built and kept in repair all the dwelling-houses, barns, stables, plows, harrows, gates, etc., on



COLONIAL FURNITURE

Desks and chairs used in signing the Declaration of Independence

the plantation, and the outhouses at the house. His coopers made the hogsheads the tobacco was prized in, and the tight casks to hold the cider and other liquors. The tanners and curriers, with the proper vats, etc., tanned and dressed skins both for upper and lower leather to the full amount of the consumption of the estate, and the shoemakers made them into shoes for the negroes. A professional shoemaker was hired for three or four months in the year to come and make up the shoes for the white part of the family. The blacksmiths did all the

iron work required by the establishment, as making and repairing plows, harrows, chains, bolts, etc. The spinners, weavers, and knitters made all the coarse cloths and stockings used by the negroes, and some of the finer texture worn by the white family, nearly all worn by the children of it. The distiller made every fall a good deal of apple, peach, and persimmon brandy. The art of distilling from grain was not then among us, and but few public distilleries. All these operations were carried on at the home house, and their results distributed as occasion required to the different plantations. Moreover, all the beeves and hogs for consumption or sale were driven up and slaughtered there at the proper seasons, and whatever was to be preserved was salted and packed away for after distribution.

"My father kept no steward or clerk about him. He kept his own books and superintended, with the assistance of a trusty slave or two, and occasionally of some of his sons, all the operations at or about the home house above described, except that during the Revolutionary War and when it was necessary to do a great deal in that way to clothe all his slaves, he had in his service a white man, a weaver of the finer stuffs, to weave himself and superintend the black weavers, and a white woman to superintend the negro spinning women."

115. Fashion Among the Upper Classes.—In dress the upper classes followed the fashions of London. Fiske, in a discussion of this subject, states: "London fashions were strictly followed. In the time of Bacon's Rebellion your host would have appeared, perhaps, in a coat and breeches of olive plush or dark red broadcloth, with embroidered waistcoat, shirt and shoe buckles, lace ruffles about neck and wrists, and his head encumbered with a flowing wig; while the lady of the house might have worn a crimson bodice trimmed with point lace, a black tabby (a rich oriental silk) petticoat and silk hose, with shoes of fine leather gallooned; her lace headdress would be secured with a gold bodkin, and she would be apt to wear earrings, a pearl necklace, and finger-rings with rubies or diamonds, and to carry a fan."

116. Amusements: (a) *Outdoor Sports.*—The plantations being so large and far apart, there was less social life in the South than in some of the northern colonies. This, of course,

was not true of Charleston. In no other city in the colonies was there so much gay social life as in this city. The winter season was crowded with balls and parties. But while there was of necessity much less of this kind of social life on the farms and large plantations, no people anywhere ever possessed more genuine hospitality and love for social life and outdoor sports than did the landholders of the South. They were especially fond of outdoor sports. Horse racing and hunting were their two principal amusements. By 1750 Virginia and



WEALTHY SOUTHERNERS—THEIR COSTUMES AND MANNERS

The Southern people are noted especially for their hospitality and love of social life and outdoor sports

Maryland contained some of the finest horses in the world. The races took place twice a year—in the spring and in the fall. The southern people were also very fond of hunting, especially of fox-hunting, and loved to follow the hounds after the fox. This was Washington's chief pleasure, and he continued to follow the hounds as long as he was able to ride horseback.

(b) *Field-day Entertainments.*—Other outdoor amusements were the field sports, which were much like similar sports in England. They were usually under the direction of the planters. The *Virginia Gazette* of October, 1737, contains this notice,

which gives a good idea of one of these field-day entertainments: "We have advice from Hanover County, that on St. Andrew's Day there are to be Horse Races and several other Diversions, and the entertainment of the Gentlemen and Ladies, at the Old Field, near Captain John Bickerton's, in that county (if permitted by the Hon. Wm. Byrd, Esquire, Proprietor of said land), the substance of which is as follows, viz.: 'It is proposed that 20 Horses or Mares do run round a three miles' course for a prize of five pounds.

"That a Hat of the value of 20s. be cudgelled for, and that after the first challenge made the Drums are to beat every Quarter of an hour for three challenges round the Ring, and none to play with their Left Hand.

"That a violin be played for by 20 Fiddlers; no person to have the liberty of playing unless he bring a fiddle with him. After the prize is won they are all to play together, and each a different tune, and to be treated by the company.

"That 12 Boys of 12 years of age do run 112 yards for a Hat of the cost of 12 shillings.

"That a Flag be flying on said day 30 feet high.

"That a handsome entertainment be provided for the subscribers and their wives; and such of them as are not so happy as to have wives may treat any other lady.

"That Drums, Trumpets, Hautboys, &c., be provided to play at said entertainment.

"That after dinner, the Royal Health, His Honor the Governor's &c., are to be drunk.

"That a Quire of ballads be sung for by a number of Songsters, all of them to have liquor sufficient to clear their Wind Pipes.

"That a pair of Silver Buckles be wrestled for by a number of brisk young men.

"That a pair of handsome Shoes be danced for.

"That a pair of handsome silk Stockings of one Pistole value be given to the handsomest young country maid that appears in the Field. With many other Whimsical and Comical Diversions too numerous to mention.

"And as this mirth is designed to be purely innocent and

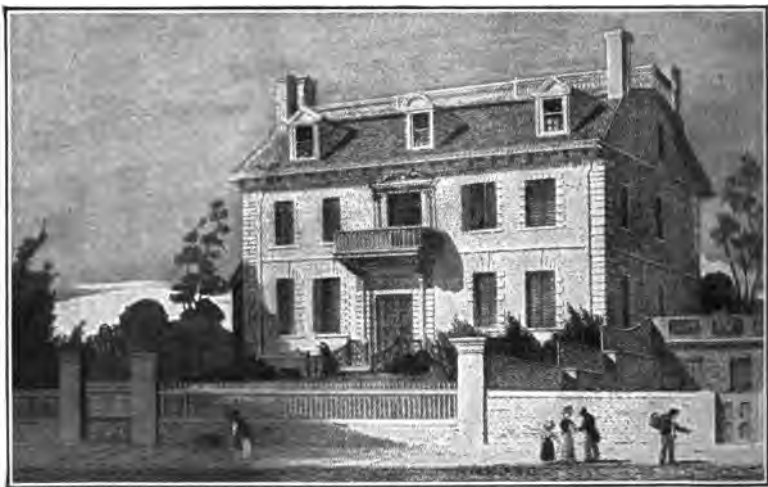
void of offense, all persons resorting there are desired to behave themselves with decency and sobriety, the subscribers being resolved to discountenance all immorality with the utmost rigor.' ”

New England

117. Classes of Society: (a) *The Slave and the Indented Servant*.—At the time of the Revolution about seven hundred thousand people were living in New England, which was about equal to the number living in Virginia. As in the South, there were four classes of society—the slave, the indented servant, the middle class and the upper class. The number of slaves and indented servants was very small as compared with the number in the South. The total slave population of New England did not exceed twenty thousand, and probably was not more than fifteen thousand. The slaves were employed almost exclusively as house servants, their labor not being very valuable on the small farms, in manufacturing or in the other industries. The laws regarding slaves and indented servants were much milder than those in the South. The treatment of slaves, as a rule, was very kind, which was due largely to the fact that their employment as house servants kept them in close personal relation with their masters. The indented servants also were treated kindly, and after they became free they usually succeeded in going into business for themselves.

(b) *The Middle and Upper Classes*.—While there was no distinct line dividing the middle from the upper class, there was a great difference between the lower of the middle class and the higher of the upper class. Thus there was as distinct and as strong an aristocracy in New England as in the southern colonies, but it rested on a somewhat different basis. Aristocracy in the South rested largely on birth and ability, but it also rested largely on large landholdings; that of New England rested on ability, education, birth and wealth, though not to any great extent on wealth in land. The upper or aristocratic class was composed not of large landholders, but of those whose families for generations had been noted for their wealth,

education, or services in the government; of those who were well educated and learned; of those who had performed valuable public service; and of those who had been very successful as merchants or in commerce. The middle class was composed of the mass of the population, which consisted of the farmers, merchants and those engaged in manufacturing and in other lines of industry. There were fewer foreigners in New England than in the other colonies, nearly all the members of both the upper and middle classes being of pure English stock, and like



THE HANCOCK HOUSE, BOSTON
This house witnessed many historic events

the southern landholders they represented the highest English citizenship. The masses of the people were much better educated than those in the other colonies. As will be seen later when the subject of "Education in the Colonies" is reached, this was due in part to the Puritan religion and to the fact that a large number of people lived in towns and cities.

118. Social Distinctions; Effect on New England Life.—

The social distinctions referred to in the last paragraph had an important effect in many ways on New England life. Nearly all the offices were filled by men of the upper class. If through

a mistake or oversight the son of a carpenter or bricklayer or any one engaged in a similar occupation was elected to office, he could be removed simply because his father did not hold a higher social position in the community. Lodge cites a case in which some persons as late as 1759 asked to have a peace officer removed because his father was a bricklayer, and the only point argued was whether the charge was true, it being accepted as a matter of course that he would be removed if he really were the son of a bricklayer. These social distinctions were also carefully observed in everyday life. In church the people were seated according to their social position. The best seats and most prominent positions were given to public officials and to other members of the upper class. The other seats were assigned according to the social rank of the various members. Persons were compelled to occupy the seats assigned to them, and any one who refused to do so was punished. These same distinctions were made in the colleges. A student on entering college was assigned a position according to the social standing of his father. A list containing the names of the students, with the position assigned to each, was hung up in the college hall, and all were obliged to comply with it. This custom was not abolished in Harvard and Yale until about the time of the Revolution. It is rather surprising that in a new country, where labor was considered honorable, so many of the everyday affairs of life should have been affected to such an extent, and for so long a time, by social position.

119. Dress and Amusements: (a) *As Affected by Puritanism.*—The nature of the Puritan religion had a great deal to do with the dress and amusements of the New England people. The ministers taught simplicity in dress, and they were opposed to dances and parties. The laws of Massachusetts prohibited theaters, and they were not introduced with success until after the Revolution. The religion of the Puritans made New England life earnest, simple and solemn. It taught that amusements and undue hilarity and pleasure were the works of Satan. The Puritans carried out their ideas in their daily life, and compelled others to do the same. Before the Massachusetts charter was annulled in 1684, all men were required to attend church

and to refrain from certain amusements. The wealthy class wore clothes made of fine material, often of silks and broadcloth, but the styles were simple and plain. The outdoor amusements consisted of hunting, fishing, sleighing and various athletic sports, but as the Puritan ministers were very strict regarding all kinds of amusements they were inclined to frown on these sports.

(b) *Changes in Social Life Due to British Influence.*—After New England was placed under royal governors, and the early Puritanism had declined somewhat in strictness, New England



A NEW ENGLAND COLONIAL HOME
The home life of the Puritan

life gradually became more bright and cheerful. The following by Lodge, based largely on the best sources, is, perhaps, the best description of this change ever written: "Entertainment of a quieter and more everyday kind was found by ladies and gentlemen in walking in the mall every fine afternoon, and then going to each other's houses to pass the evening, unless they went to lectures, which was possible on six nights out of seven. There were narrow limits, for not only were plays and music houses discountenanced, but dancing-parties and balls were by no means encouraged. 'Of late,' says one writer, in the year

1740, 'they have set up an assembly, to which some of the ladies resort. But they are looked upon to be none the nicest in regard to reputation, and it is thought it will soon be suppressed, for it is much taken notice of and exploded by the religious and sober part of the people.' Yet they did not seem dispirited or moping for lack of amusement, and the same writer says elsewhere: 'The ladies here visit, drink tea, and indulge in every little piece of gentility to the height of the mode, and neglect the affairs of their family with as good grace as the finest ladies



THE PURITAN GOVERNOR INTERRUPTING THE CHRISTMAS SPORTS

in London.' The old system, in fact, was giving way before the presence of an energetic and pleasure-loving social element, and balls and parties soon became an unquestioned part of social life.

"After the troops were quartered in Boston an attempt was even made to infringe upon the Sabbath. 'We have had an innovation here never known before,' writes a worthy citizen in the year 1773. 'A drum or rout was given by the admiral last Saturday evening, which did not break up till two or three o'clock on Sunday morning, their chief amusement being playing cards.' This innovation was a step too far, and disappeared

with the English soldiers; but, nevertheless, at the time of the Revolution, the old abhorrence of amusements was nearly gone, and social life in Boston was by no means somber and depressing; so that those who found time in the midst of an active life for relaxation had no lack of opportunities." This description applies to Boston, which led in the revolt against the solemn



USED BY THE PILGRIMS

The sword and vessels belonged to Miles Standish

simplicity of Puritanism. In the smaller towns, and especially in the country, the Puritan ideals of dress and amusements were held much longer, and in some parts of New England have a strong influence on social life at the present time.

The Middle Colonies

120. Classes of Society.—At the beginning of the Revolution the total population of the middle colonies was about six hundred and seventy thousand, which was about equal to the population of New England or of Virginia. Of this number

New York contained about one hundred and seventy thousand, New Jersey about one hundred thousand, Pennsylvania about three hundred and sixty thousand, and Delaware about forty thousand. With the exception of the large Dutch landholders along the Hudson and Mohawk rivers in New York, the people of the middle colonies were divided into but three well-defined classes—the slaves, the indented servants, and the class that corresponds to the middle class in Virginia and in New England, consisting of farmers, merchants, traders and those engaged in other lines of industry.

(a) *The Slaves*.—There were about sixty-five thousand slaves in these colonies, forty thousand of whom were in Pennsylvania and Delaware, about fifteen thousand in New York, and about ten thousand in New Jersey. Nearly all the slaves were employed as house servants, just as in New England. As a rule they were treated kindly, this being due largely to the nature of their work, which brought them into close contact with their masters. Although the number of slaves was small, there was, at times, some fear of a slave uprising in the large cities. All such attempts met with severe punishment. Altogether some fifteen negroes were burned to death at the stake in New York, and several were put to death in the same way in New Jersey. In some of these cases the negroes had no intention of killing the whites or burning the cities, but the whites thought they were planning to, and so inflicted this terrible punishment.

(b) *Indented Servants*.—The indented servants were not treated so well as in New England. This may have been due, at least to some extent, to the fact that the number of indented servants was larger in the middle colonies than in New England. Pennsylvania contained more than any other colony. A large number of them came from the German states along the Rhine, where many years of war had reduced the people to poverty and want. Nearly all of these voluntarily entered into contracts of indenture in order to pay their fares from Europe; but some were kidnapped and taken to America without their consent, while the others were led to come by false promises made by traders who made a business of selling them in the colonies. After they became free most of them made excellent citizens.

(c) *The Middle and Upper Classes.*—There were fewer English in the middle colonies in proportion to the population than in the other colonies. For about fifty years New York had been a Dutch province, and naturally there were a large number of Dutch there. The Germans, Scotch, Irish and French Huguenots comprised a large part of the population in Pennsylvania and Delaware, and in the latter colony there were a good many Swedes. East New Jersey was almost purely English, being settled largely by people from New England. West New Jersey contained many Germans. The middle class consisted of the great mass of the people, and was vigorous, earnest and progressive. The only distinct upper class or aristocracy in the middle colonies was made up of the large Dutch landholders along the Hudson and Mohawk rivers. At the present time many of the leading men and women of New York trace with pride their descent from these large landholders.

121. The Manors of the Hudson and the Mohawk.—The first owners of these great estates, called manors, received their vast grants of land when the Dutch first settled in New York. These grants were given to them as an inducement to settle in the province. The owner of one of these estates had even more authority and power than the large landholders of the South. He rented most of his land to farmers, who paid him so much rent each year. Each of the larger estates was entitled to one representative in the legislature of the colony. The owner could hold court and inflict punishment for the violation of laws. In several cases the death penalty was inflicted. In fact, the owners of these large estates or manors on the Hudson and the Mohawk had some of the rights and powers possessed by the lords and barons of Europe. Among the most noted families were the Van Rensselaers, the Cortlandts, the Livingstons, the Schuylers, the Philipses and the Cuylers.

122. Dress, Amusements and Social Life: (a) *In the Country and Small Towns.*—The habits, dress and amusements of the people in the middle colonies varied somewhat in the different colonies. As a rule, the clothes of the country people were home-made from homespun cloth. In New Jersey the early Puritan ideas of quiet and solemn simplicity prevailed. The

life of the small Dutch farmers of New York also was simple, earnest and industrious. Their clothing was home-made, and the cloth of which it was made was homespun and woven. They did not readily adopt the fashions that were brought from Europe, and that were followed in the larger towns. Their amusements were few and simple, consisting of corn huskings, spinning bees, and simple outdoor sports such as skating, hunting and fishing. The lords of the manors were opposed to



A DUTCH HOUSE

Built in 1690; destroyed by fire in 1905

theaters and to the amusements introduced by the English governors and other English officials. In Delaware and Pennsylvania, outside of Philadelphia, the dress and amusements of the people were simple, although there were frequent rough quarrels and fights when the country people gathered in the towns on the occasion of fairs or other attractions. There was more social life than among the farmers of New England. "The rare events of country life were seized upon in the recurring seasons and enjoyed to the full. Seed-time and harvest, husking

and cider-pressing, house-raising and vendues, shooting-matches, sleighing, and Christmas sports were always the occasions of social gatherings. There was a good deal of drinking, and still more dancing, and in every hamlet the fiddler was an important personage."

(b) *Social Life in New York and Philadelphia.*—At the time of the Revolution, Philadelphia was the largest city in North America, and New York was third in size, Boston being second. In the matter of dress the wealthier class in Philadelphia and New York followed closely the fashions of London.



A HUSKING BEE

Both men and women wore clothes made of silk and velvet, and wore a great deal of rich, bright-colored material. The men wore large, powdered wigs and carried swords. A young man of fashion wore rich clothing of various bright colors. "A lady, struck with the appearance of some gay fellow at a ball, addressed him in the following lines:—

'Mine a tall youth shall at a ball be seen,
Whose legs are like the spring, all clothed in green;
A yellow ribbon ties his long cravat,
And a large knot of yellow cocks his hat.'

"The women dressed in the height of fashion, especially in Philadelphia. They devoted hours to dressing for balls and

parties. Flowered stuffs of every variety—brocades, satins, velvets and silks—were much in vogue, and hours were spent in the construction of tall headdresses and mounds of hair. They wore masks in cold weather, and carried fans of ivory with pictured sides. Even the Quakers gave way; and while the stricter members wore plain but rich material, a portion of the sect, known as Wet Quakers, yielded to the fascinations of powder, silver buckles and bright colors." This description applies more especially to Philadelphia; but the same styles of dress were followed to a large extent in New York. The principal social amusements were balls, parties and theaters. In addition to these amusements young men spent much of their time at their clubs. With the exception of Charleston, gay social life was enjoyed to a fuller extent in New York and Philadelphia than in any of the other cities in the colonies.

GOVERNMENT *

123. Introductory: (a) *Divisions of Government.*—Every pupil who reads or studies this book in school lives, very likely, with his parents, and is therefore one member of a family. He is also a member of the school that he attends. He is a citizen or member of the county in which he lives, and whether he lives in a town, a city, or in the country he is a member of one of the parts or subdivisions of the county. He is also a member of the state in which he lives, and as the states make up the nation, he is a member of the nation, or, as is usually said, a citizen of the United States. Every family, school, county and state, and the nation also, is governed by rules or laws made by the people. Each pupil, therefore, lives under several different forms of government. He lives under the government of his parents or guardian; under the government of his teacher and the school trustees or board of education; under the government of the city or other division of the county in which he lives; under the government of the county in which he lives; under the government of the state in which he lives; and under the government of the United States. Every one lives under these different forms of government and must obey the rules of each. Men

and women, of course, are not under the rules of the family and school in the same way that a pupil is, but they must obey the general laws relating to the family and school.

(b) *Harmony of Laws; Changes and Improvements.*—With so many laws it would seem that the laws of the family, school, county, state and nation would conflict or interfere with one another. They do not, however, and this is most remarkable. All these laws work in harmony. This is not the result of chance or accident. Our ancestors for thousands of years were working at the different divisions of government, and making laws for each. A long time ago, when our ancestors were savages, the laws were rude and simple. Ever since then the laws have gradually been changed, increased in number and made better, and at the present time they are being changed and made better each year. The laws have been changed and are being changed in order that boys and girls and men and women may live happier and more useful lives.

There have been many changes in the different forms of government even since the colonies were first settled, and it will be interesting and valuable to learn something about these changes. It will not be possible in this small book to study all the units or divisions of government, but some of them will be taken up and the more important changes noted briefly.

State and Colonial Government

State Government

124. Relation to National and Local Government; Division and Source of Powers.—Next to the county in the affairs of government is the state. In matters of government the states have control of all those things that the people have not given to the national government, or that are not controlled by the county or the smaller units of local government. The people of the United States have given to the national government control of all those things that affect the nation as a whole, and have reserved to the states all other powers of government. That part of these reserved powers that affects more directly

the people of the entire state is given to the state government. The other part of these reserved powers belongs to the county and the smaller units of local government.

The division of all these powers of government—national, state and local—is defined in the national and state constitutions, which have been adopted by the people either by direct vote or by representatives whom they have elected. The state constitutions give to the state government the power to outline and define in many ways the powers of local government; but as



THE STATE CAPITOL AT SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

One of the most beautiful state capitols

the state officers are elected by the people, they carry out the wishes of the people in these matters. Thus it follows that in the United States the people are the source of all power, and that they may change even the form of government.

125. Departments of Government: (a) *Legislative Department.*—National, state and local government consists of three departments, namely, the legislative, the executive and the judicial. The legislative department makes the laws; the executive department executes or enforces them; the judicial department interprets, or tells what the laws mean, and applies them to the affairs of life.

The legislative department in each state consists of two houses. The upper house, or chamber, is the smaller, and in every state is called the senate. The lower chamber is usually called the assembly or house of representatives, or simply "the house." The legislative department of the national government also consists of two houses. The upper is called the senate, and the lower the house of representatives. The legislative department in the county consists of the board of commissioners or supervisors, and the legislative department of cities or other smaller units of local government consists of similar bodies. The members of the legislative department in all the states and in all the units of local government are elected by the people. The state legislatures have important power and have control of many things. "All of the general laws under which our local governments and schools are organized, those referring to the state and local courts and procedure in these courts, those dealing with the making and enforcement of contracts, the transfer of property, marriage and divorce, with the prevention of the spread of disease, with the incorporation of business houses—all of these form only a part of the vast number under the charge of the legislatures, the whole covering a set of subjects of the first importance not only because there are so many but because all are of such interest to us in our homes and business life."

(b) *Executive Department.*—In all the states the highest executive officer is the governor; in the national government he is the President of the United States; and in the cities he is called the mayor. In the counties the various county officials attend to the executive business.

While the governor is at the head of the executive department of the state, there are a number of other executive officers in the state who assist in enforcing the laws. Among the other more important executive officers of each state are the lieutenant governor, secretary of state, controller, treasurer, superintendent of public instruction and attorney general. The governor is always elected by the people, and so are the other executive officers, except that in a few states some of them are appointed either by the governor or by the legislature. The lieutenant

governor usually presides over the senate and takes the governor's place when the latter is absent from the state, or when he resigns or dies, or for any reason is legally removed from office. The other executive officers just named perform the duties of their various offices. All local officers must assist in enforcing the laws of the state, and this is a great help to the state officers. The governor is by far the most important executive officer in the state. He is commander in chief of the state militia, or National Guard, and when the other state or local officers cannot enforce the laws, he may call on the militia to assist in their enforcement.

(c) *The Judicial Department.*—The judicial department of each state consists of a supreme court and of a number of lower courts. The judicial department of the national government also consists of a supreme court and a number of lower courts. Next to the supreme court of the state are the county courts, and next to the county courts are the city courts and justice's courts. In some states there are circuit or district courts between the supreme court and the county court. The judges in all these courts are elected usually by the people, but in several states some of them are appointed by the governor or legislature. The members of the supreme court are elected usually by the people of the entire state, and a judge in a lower court is elected by the people in that division of the state of which he is a judge. The city courts and justice's courts try the less important cases; the county courts those of more importance; the circuit or district courts those of still more importance, and from the last-named court cases may be appealed to the supreme court. Many cases may be appealed from the lower courts in the state up through all the others, and some cases may be appealed from the state supreme court to the United States courts.

126. In What Respects State, National and Local Government Differ.—From the above brief discussion of state government it is plain that in general form, and divisions into departments, state government is almost exactly the same as national, and that in those respects it closely resembles local government. The main difference, therefore, in national, state and local government is not in form but in the things each controls. As

already stated, the national government has control of those things that affect in a general way the people of all the states; state government has control of those things that affect more directly the people of a state; and local government has control of those things that affect still more directly the people of a small part, or division of the state. It is essential at this point for the pupil to see clearly these relationships.

Colonial Government

127. Mode of Treatment.—The discussion that follows deals with that government in the various colonies corresponding to the state government that exists in the various states to-day. The more a person knows about state government, the more clearly he will see how it has grown out of colonial government. For this reason the teacher and pupils are urged (if they have not already done so) to make a somewhat careful study of the government of the state in which they live, before taking up the study of colonial government.

The colonial government discussed is that which existed in the colonies from about 1700 to the time of the Revolution, although in some respects the form of government existing at the time of the Revolution had been established in some of the colonies before 1700 and in others not until after 1700. The way in which each colony secured the form of government it had between 1700 and the time of the Revolution has already been briefly discussed under the head of "Origin, Growth and Political History." The growth of colonial government, therefore, will not here be taken up; the discussion will be restricted to that government as it then existed.

128. Legislative Department in the Colonies: (a) *Qualifications of Electors.*—The colonial governments, like the state governments of to-day, consisted of three departments—legislative, executive and judicial. The legislative department in all the colonies, like those in all the states to-day, consisted of two houses. The lower house was usually called house of representatives, the assembly, or house of burgesses. In New England, members of the lower house represented the townships;

in South Carolina, the parishes and districts; in all the other colonies they represented the counties. The members of the lower house, as is the case in all the states to-day, were elected by the people. But there was one important difference. In none of the colonies could anyone vote for a member of the lower house, or for any other officer of the colonies, unless he owned a certain amount of property, whereas to-day in the United States no property qualification is required of a voter. The amount of property required varied in the different colonies. Pennsylvania required the smallest amount, and South Carolina, Virginia and



COUNTY COURT HOUSE OF HANOVER COUNTY, VIRGINIA

In the city where this building stood, Patrick Henry practiced law and Henry Clay was born

Georgia the largest. In Pennsylvania nearly all the tax-paying freemen could vote; in South Carolina a member of the assembly was required to own five hundred acres of land and ten slaves, or houses and lots worth about five thousand dollars, and in order to vote for a member of the assembly a man was required to own fifty acres of land or other property on which he paid a tax of twenty shillings a year.

(b) *Upper Branch of the Legislature; Selection of Members.*—The upper branch of the legislature in the colonies was called the council, and consisted usually of twelve members,

called assistants or members of the governor's council. Except in Connecticut and Rhode Island, the members of the council were either appointed by the governor or by the lower house, as was the case in Massachusetts, and approved by the governor. In Connecticut and Rhode Island the members of the upper house were elected by the people. Thus it becomes plain that except in these two colonies the governor, by his power of appointment, practically controlled the upper branch of the legislature.

(c) *Powers of the two Houses.*—It should be remembered, however, that with the exception of Connecticut and Rhode Island, the upper house, or council, had very little to do with making the laws. It could not act on any bills that had anything to do with levying taxes or raising money unless that bill had first passed the lower house. Thus the people of each colony, through the men whom they had elected as members of the lower house, kept control of all money matters, and insisted on the right to tax themselves—a right enjoyed by Englishmen in England. The main duty of the council was to advise the governor and to assist him in performing the duties of his office. It could usually review the laws passed by the lower house, and in some of the colonies could defeat them by an adverse vote. In Pennsylvania, Delaware and Georgia the council could not even review the laws enacted by the lower house. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, where the members of the council, or house of assistants as it was called, were elected by the people, the upper house had almost as much power in making the laws as did the lower house. In each of the other colonies, however, the lower had by far the more power in making all those laws that more directly affected the people of that colony; but, as will be shown later, the governor or the king could usually veto a law passed by the legislature. All laws enacted by a colonial legislature had to be in harmony with the laws of England.

129. Executive Department in the Colonies: (a) *Classes of Government.*—The Executive Department in each colony consisted of the governor and the governor's council, or upper house of the legislature. Government in the colonies is sometimes divided into three classes—Charter, Proprietary and

Royal. This classification is based mainly on the manner in which the governor was selected, but to some extent, however, on the possession or non-possession of a charter by a colony. In Connecticut and Rhode Island the governor was elected by the people, as was also the case with the members of both the upper and the lower house of the legislature. The form and the power of the government in these two colonies were defined in the



INTERIOR OF INDEPENDENCE HALL

From a recent photograph showing the present appearance of the hall. Much of this furniture is rich in historical associations

charter granted by the king. This form of government, therefore, is called charter government, but a colony might have a charter without the people having the right to elect the governor.

In 1632 King Charles I granted to Lord Baltimore a tract of land that included what is now the state of Maryland. In 1681 King Charles II granted to William Penn a tract of land that included what is now the present state of Pennsylvania, and three years later Penn bought from the Duke of York a tract that included what is now the state of Delaware. Baltimore and his heirs were called the proprietors of Maryland, and Penn and

his heirs were called the proprietors of Pennsylvania and Delaware. The proprietor of Maryland and the proprietor of Pennsylvania and Delaware could each act as governor of his colony or could appoint a governor. Usually they appointed governors. The governor of Pennsylvania was also governor of Delaware, but the latter colony had a legislature of its own. As the governors of these colonies were the proprietors or men appointed by them, this form of government is called proprietary government. In all the other colonies, except in Connecticut and Rhode Island, the governors were appointed by the king. This form of government is called royal government. While the governor of Massachusetts was appointed by the king, the colony also had a charter, and its government therefore was about half royal and half charter.

But these names as to class of government are of very little importance. The important facts are that in the thirteen colonies the lower and by far the more important branch of the law-making body was elected and controlled by the people; that in all the colonies, except Connecticut and Rhode Island, the council, or upper house of the legislature was appointed by the governor, instead of being elected by the people; and that in all the colonies, with the same two exceptions, the governor was appointed by the king or by the proprietor, instead of being elected by the people.

(b) *Powers of the Governors.*—The royal governors and the proprietary governor of Maryland possessed very important powers. In addition to seeing that the laws were enforced, they appointed nearly all the judges and a large number of other officers. They possessed also the very important power of vetoing the bills passed by the legislature. The governor of Pennsylvania and Delaware had less power. He could appoint no officers except the judges. The legislatures in both cases made the laws, but the proprietors through their deputy governors often vetoed these laws, especially in cases where the proprietors' lands had been taxed by the legislature. As the governors of Connecticut and Rhode Island were elected by the people, they were directly responsible to them. All appointments were made by the governor and both houses of the legislature when sitting

together as one body. Usually the relations between the governor and both houses of the legislature were friendly, and they worked together harmoniously, which was a great contrast to the constant quarrels between the governors and the legislatures of the other colonies. This was due to the fact that in Connecticut and Rhode Island the governors were elected by the people, and were therefore responsible to them, while in the other colonies they were appointed either by the king or by the proprietors.



FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON

Built in 1740-42. Many important public meetings have been held here

130. The Judicial Department in the Colonies.—In some of the details the judicial department differed in the various colonies, but in general form and structure it was the same in all the colonies. The supreme or highest court in each colony consisted usually of the governor and the council, or upper branch of the legislature. This court corresponds to the supreme courts in the various states at the present time. The supreme courts in the colonies, like the supreme courts in the states to-day, tried the more important cases. Certain cases could be appealed from the lower courts up to the supreme courts, as is true in the states

at present. In many of the colonies the county courts were next to the supreme courts, but in some of them there was a court between the county and the supreme court. This court was usually called the court of common pleas. The members of the county courts were appointed by the governor. In most of the colonies the county courts transacted most of the legal business, and the same is true of the county courts in the states at the present time. Below the county courts came the justice's courts. As is the case to-day, they were the lowest of all the courts, and decided the smaller civil and criminal cases.

131. The National Authority in the Colonies.—The national government in the colonies was the same as that of England. The English Parliament and the English king were the highest government authority in both England and the colonies. The English king and Parliament bore, in a general way, the same relation to the colonies that the national government of the United States at the present time bears to the various states. When the people of the colonies became independent, they established the national government to take the place of the English king and the English Parliament. But it is very important to note carefully that the people of the colonies would not admit that the English Parliament could control them except in a general way. They would admit that the king was the head of the nation, and that in national matters he was supreme; but they would not admit that Parliament could legislate for them except on such matters as commerce and navigation, which were of a general nature and affected the entire British Empire.

The people of each colony maintained that they were represented in their colonial legislature in about the same way as the people of England were represented in the English Parliament, and that each of the colonial legislatures bore the same relation to the king as did Parliament, except that the latter could make laws that applied to the general affairs of the entire Empire. When a colony had any business with the English government, it insisted on dealing with the king and not with Parliament. In taking this stand the people in the colonies were in the right, for they were merely insisting on having the powers held by all Englishmen. Englishmen had the power to decide what taxes

they should pay and to make most of their laws in a legislature consisting of men whom they had elected. The colonists did not help elect the members of Parliament, and therefore that body had no right to interfere with those matters that more directly affected the home affairs of each colony. Nor did the king have this right; and when George III tried to do this through a Parliament over which he had gained control, the people of the colonies rebelled rather than lose the power to tax themselves and make the laws that affected more directly their home affairs.



OLD STATE HOUSE OR INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA

Built in 1729-34. Here the Declaration of Independence was adopted and the Constitution of the United States framed

132. Relation of Colonial Government to Present State Government.—We have already seen that local government of to-day is the direct outgrowth of local government in the colonies. From a study of colonial government it is seen that the legislative, executive and judicial departments of the state governments in the United States at the present time are merely the modification and expansion of those departments in the colonies. The colonial legislature consisted of a lower and an upper house. The lower house corresponds to the lower house

in the state legislature to-day, and there have not been many important changes in its nature. The council, or upper house in the colonies, corresponds to the state senate, or upper house in the state legislature at the present time, but this council has undergone a great change. The members of the senate are elected by the people, and the senate has as much power as the lower house in making laws. The governor is at the head of the state executive department to-day, as he was at the head of that department in the colonies, but now he is elected by the people. The same close relation between colonial times and the present time exists in the judicial department. The different courts in the colonies correspond closely to the courts in the states at the present time, except that many of the judges are now elected by the people. At the present time the courts are separate and distinct bodies, whereas in the colonies they were often the legislative and executive departments. The colonial governments of Connecticut and Rhode Island were so much like those of to-day that their charters were adopted as their state constitutions, and remained in effect until 1818 in the case of Connecticut, and until 1842 in that of Rhode Island, the only important change being the omission of the king's name.

The greatest change in government since colonial times has been in the election of officers and in the right to vote. Nearly all officers—local, state and national—are now elected by the people, whereas in the colonies many of them were appointed. In the colonies no one who did not own a certain amount of property could vote for any officer of the colony or for any local officer. Now no property qualification is required of any voter in the United States. All this means that the people have become much more democratic since colonial times.

RELIGION *

133. Religious Liberty at the Present Time.—If the government of any civilized nation at the present time should kill, or imprison, or punish in any way, a person because he belonged to a certain church, its action would be severely condemned by almost every one. Scarcely any one to-day believes that a man

should be killed or punished in any way merely because he may be a member of the Methodist, Presbyterian, Catholic or any other church. The right of a person to think and to act in religious matters as he may desire, so long as he does not interfere with the rights of others, is now conceded by almost everybody. So thoroughly is this principle established and accepted that the government of the United States, or that of any other civilized nation, would use its entire power to protect its citizens in their rights to enjoy quietly and peacefully their religious ideas. The right of a person to enjoy quietly and peacefully his religious ideas is called "religious liberty."

134. Religious Persecution in Europe.—Strange as it now seems, people have enjoyed religious liberty for but a very short time. Less than two hundred and fifty years ago men and women were put to death in almost every nation simply because they wished to belong to some other church than the one protected by the government. In Spain, France and Germany thousands were killed for this reason, and many more were imprisoned or otherwise punished. Hundreds were put to death in England for the same reason. In all of these countries men and women were tortured in various ways and were burned to death because they would not uphold the established or state church—that is, the church protected by the government. In 1686 thousands of Huguenots were massacred in France. Women and children were dragged from their beds in the night and murdered, because of their religious ideas. From 1685 to 1700 fully two hundred thousand Huguenots left France in order to escape these religious persecutions. From 1550 to 1650 more than one hundred thousand perished in the religious wars of Europe.

135. Religious Persecutions in the Colonies: (a) In Massachusetts.—These persecutions for religious reasons were not restricted to the Old World. Some of the English colonies in America did the same thing. For a long time in Massachusetts men and women were not permitted to establish any church except the Congregational, or Puritan church, or to teach or preach any religious doctrine except that of the Congregational church. The government of Massachusetts whipped,

imprisoned and banished men and women because of their religious ideas. These persecutions did not stop with such punishments. Four Quakers were hanged in Boston—two men in 1659, one woman in 1660, and another man in 1661. These four persons were hanged by order of the court merely because they insisted on preaching in the colony the doctrines of their church. It is incorrect to say that the Puritans came to New England for the purpose of establishing religious liberty. They came to the New World in order to escape persecution by the Established church in England. They had no intention whatever of permitting any church to be established in New England except the Congregational church.

(b) *In Some of the Other Colonies.*—Some of the other colonies were almost as severe as the colony of Massachusetts. In Virginia there were severe laws against the members of all churches except those of the Established church. Members of other churches were imprisoned and banished from the colony. The Catholics first settled Maryland and granted religious liberty to every one in the colony; but as soon as the members of the Established church secured control of the colony, they passed severe laws against the Catholics and against the members of other churches as well. With but few exceptions the Catholics were persecuted in all the colonies.

136. Causes of Religious Persecutions.—It is but natural that people to-day should condemn severely the religious persecutions referred to above. But the people of to-day would probably have done the same thing had they lived in those times and under the conditions then existing. Nor can the churches be held responsible for these persecutions, because this narrow spirit in religious matters represented merely the general spirit of the times. In Europe the persecutions were carried on in the name of the Catholic church; in Virginia and Maryland and to a large extent in England, in the name of the Church of England; and in New England, in the name of the Puritan church. Until about two hundred and fifty years ago, the leading or state church of almost every nation during the past twenty-five hundred years persecuted and even killed those who did not agree with them on religious questions.

It may be said that religious persecutions have been due to the fact that the great mass of the people were not so well educated nor as highly civilized as they are at the present time. It has been true in the history of the world, that when a large number of the people in a nation became fairly well educated, they have demanded political liberty; that is, the power to make the laws they must obey. When the people of a nation have secured the power to make their own laws, they have usually



CHURCH AT HINGHAM, MASSACHUSETTS

Built in 1681 and used for more than two hundred years

become more liberal in religious matters and have insisted on religious liberty—the right to enjoy quietly and peacefully his religious ideas. This tends to prove that religious liberty in a nation follows closely general education and political liberty, and that it does not depend on the attitude of any church. Man by nature is apt to be narrow and unjust in religious matters, and it has required long centuries of education and civilization to make him broad and liberal along these lines.

137. Growth of Religious Liberty in the United States:

(a) *Effect of Public Schools.*—The United States was one of the first nations to establish complete religious liberty. At the beginning of the Revolution most of the colonies had already established religious liberty, and the Revolution swept away the last vestige of religious persecution. From the very first Rhode Island was very liberal in religious matters, and this was true of Pennsylvania also. The members of all churches could worship in the latter colony without the least fear of persecution.



PURITAN SERVICE IN PLYMOUTH CHURCH

In 1789 Congress recommended the religious policy of Pennsylvania for adoption by all the states. One of the main things that caused the growth of religious liberty in the colonies was the establishment of public schools. For centuries the leading or state church of a nation had control of education. This was true also in early Virginia and most of New England; but gradually in nearly all the colonies the government took control of education. This step soon caused education to become more generally diffused among the people. It also prevented any church from using any public money to establish schools in which children

were taught its own doctrines. The churches may, and most of them do, maintain private schools; but it is the settled policy of the United States to maintain a free public school system, which shall not be under the control of any church and in the schools of which the doctrines of no church shall be taught.

(b) *Separation of Church and State*.—Another thing that helped to cause the rapid growth of religious liberty in the colonies was the separation of church and state. In the colonies of Massachusetts and New Haven the church and state were united at first, and in Virginia and several of the other southern colonies public money was used for the support of the church. But the Puritan church was soon separated from the government in New England, and while the Established church in Virginia received public money until about the time of the Revolution, it had little or no control of the government of that colony. The separation of church and state helped the growth of religious liberty, because when a church loses control of the government it is placed on an equal footing with all the other churches, and has no power to persecute any one.

This is as it should be. Religion is a matter that each person must settle for himself—it is a question between each person and the Supreme Being. The churches can better carry out their mission without control of the government or of the free public school system, and no church or person should interfere with any one because of his religious ideas.

EDUCATION "

138. Comparison of Colonial and Modern Schools.—Very few of the boys and girls now attending the public schools in the United States realize what a great advantage they have over those who went to school fifty or even twenty-five years ago. The primary, the grammar and the high schools have improved wonderfully during the past twenty-five years. Eighty-five years ago there were very few free public schools in the United States, and they did very poor work compared with those of to-day. The average high school now is doing as good work and is offering as high-grade courses of study as were

Harvard and Yale colleges in 1800, and this was one hundred and seventy years after Boston was founded, and one hundred and sixty-four years after Harvard College was founded. It has been said by one writer that the grammar schools of to-day are doing as good work as did William and Mary College in Virginia one hundred and twenty-seven years ago at the beginning of the Revolution. For one hundred and fifty years after Virginia and New England were first settled there were practically no public schools of any kind in any of the southern colonies. While it is true that soon after they were founded all the New England colonies except Rhode Island made laws that compelled every town with fifty or more families to maintain a public school of some kind, these laws were not always properly enforced. From the very first, however, there were a number of schools in New England, and in matters of general education this section was far ahead of all the other colonies. Nearly everybody in New England was able to read and write, but a majority of the children were taught at home. The Puritan faith required everyone to read and understand the Bible.

139. Condition of Schools in England.—The free public school system of England was not established until 1870. When the colonies were first settled, and for a long time afterward, education in England, as compared with that of to-day, was in a most wretched condition. In 1700 more than half of the English people could neither read nor write their own names, and as late as thirty-two years ago (1873) twenty out of every hundred could not. When the English colonies in America were founded, there were no public schools in England. There were many church and other private schools, but a large majority of the boys and girls did not attend these. Therefore when the Englishmen who founded the colonies left the mother country, there were no public schools there, and education was controlled by the church and private individuals. Naturally, these men followed the same plan of education in the New World. New conditions in the colonies caused this plan to be changed somewhat. In some of the colonies the change was hardly an improvement; in New England and in certain of the middle colonies the change was for the better.

140. Education in the Southern Colonies: (a) *The Clergy and the Schools.*—At the time the southern colonies were settled the churches and their ministers had had control of educational affairs in England and in all the other nations of Europe for more than fifteen hundred years. The government, or civil power, did not control or provide for either public or private schools, this matter being left to the church and to private individuals. When the southern colonies were settled, therefore, it was but natural that the people should leave the question of education to the church just as they had done while in England. The church that was recognized by the government in all the southern colonies, except in Maryland for a short time, was the Church of England. Unfortunately, the Established church in these colonies, until after the Revolution, had comparatively few ministers well fitted to take the lead in popular education. As a result, educational conditions in the southern colonies were not so good as in England.

(b) *Plantation Life and Opposition of Royal Governors.*—Among the chief obstacles to improvement of educational conditions in the southern colonies were the manner of living and the opposition of the royal governors to any general system of education. As the land was held and cultivated in large tracts, called plantations, the population was widely scattered, and this naturally hindered the building up of towns and schools. A plantation generally contained hundreds of acres, and on this lived the owner and his family and a large number of servants, both black and white. The planter usually had a tutor for his children—often the minister—and after preparation under the tutor the sons were often sent to England to finish their education.

This plan of restricting education largely to the upper class was encouraged by most of the royal governors, they being strongly opposed to any general system of education. They believed that the lower classes should not be educated, as that would make them less contented and harder to govern. This feeling is shown plainly in a report made in 1671 by Sir William Berkeley, royal governor of Virginia. In this report to the Lord Commissioners of Foreign Plantations he said: "I thank

God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into this world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both."

(c) *Schools; College of William and Mary.*—With popular education in the hands of ministers who took very little interest in it, with most of the royal governors opposed to a system of



WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE

Next to Harvard the oldest college in America. Washington, Jefferson and Marshall attended this college

general education, and with the adverse conditions of the plantation system of living, nothing but a very poor system of schools could be expected to exist in the southern colonies. And just such a system did exist to a very lamentable degree. Up to the time of the Revolution, Georgia and South Carolina had scarcely any schools. North Carolina had but two, and they were of little importance. There were no public schools in Virginia, but there were a few private ones, taught by the ministers and freed servants. A few schools were established by wealthy men who were interested in education, and these

were among the best in the colony. A college was established in 1692 by royal charter from King William and Queen Mary, and was given their names. Before the Revolution, however, the work done by this college was no higher than that done to-day in the better grammar schools. In Maryland the condition of the schools was about the same as in Virginia. The legislature enacted several laws that provided for the establishment of a public school in every county. Some of these schools were established, but they had become almost worthless, or had ceased to exist, by the time of the Revolution. Maryland deserves credit for having been the only southern colony that made any real effort to establish schools that would be under the control of the people of the colony, represented by the legislature. Massachusetts, however, had set the example in this important matter long before Maryland adopted the first law of this kind in 1696.

141. Education in New England: (a) *Influence of Puritanism.*—In New England, as in the southern colonies, the church and the ministers determined the kind of education. In New England they were successful in establishing a better system of education than that which existed in England. In the New England colonies the Puritan ministers belonged to the highest class; they were the best educated men in these colonies, usually college graduates; they were intensely earnest and devoted to their work, and their lives were pure, honorable and upright. The Puritan faith demanded that every man and woman should read and understand the Bible, and it therefore became the duty of the ministers to see to it that all the people should receive enough education to enable them to do this. It thus becomes plain that it was the character of the ministers and the nature of the Puritan faith that caused to be established in New England a better system of education than was established in the southern colonies.

(b) *First Public School Law; Influence of Church on Legislation.*—In 1647 the legislature of the Massachusetts Bay colony enacted a law that required every town that contained fifty or more families to maintain a school. The schools provided for by this law were not free schools, as are the public schools of to-day. The pupils who attended were required to pay

tuition. Nor did this law result in the creation of a general system of public schools, because it was not always obeyed and could not be enforced. A number of schools had been established, and a few more were established under this law. Reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic were taught in these schools.

The law of 1647 was of great importance, not merely because of the schools that were established under it, but because it was the first time in modern history that the legislature or civil power of any colony, state or nation had provided for a public school system. For more than fifteen hundred years education had been entirely under the control of the church. This law established the principle that the state, a civil power, should control educational matters. While this law, therefore, was of some importance to early New England, it was to be of much greater importance to the United States, because it helped to establish the principle on which our whole free school system of to-day rests. Doubtless we should have our free public schools to-day, whatever might have been done in colonial times; but great honor and credit are due to Massachusetts for establishing so early the great and valuable principle of civil control of education; for without a free public school system, which provides for the education of all the people, a free and liberal government cannot long exist.

The adoption of this law and the early establishment of this principle were due to the Puritan faith and the Puritan ministers. Up to 1684 the church and state in Massachusetts were united. None but members of the Puritan church could hold office or vote; and as the ministers were all able men, well educated, and held in high esteem by the members of their churches, their ideas and wishes were carried out in the laws. As was stated before, the Puritan faith required that everybody should be educated in order to read and understand the Bible. It was the duty of the ministers, therefore, to see that the people were educated, and as this could best be done by the civil authorities, they induced the government of the colony to establish a public school system.

(c) *Elementary Education in New England.*—Although the school law passed by Massachusetts in 1647 was not complied

with by many towns and was opposed by some, the colony made other laws of a similar nature, all tending to create a public school system. Some of these laws imposed fines on towns that neglected to maintain schools. Many towns paid these fines rather than comply with the law. Notwithstanding this opposition many public schools were established and the children who did not attend them or private schools were taught at home. As a result, nearly everybody in Massachusetts could read and



HARVARD COLLEGE ABOUT 1726

After a print in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society

write. When the colony became a royal province in 1684, and the right to vote and hold office was not restricted to members of the Puritan church, the public schools began to decline. This was because the Puritan ministers then lost their influence over the legislature, and could no longer secure school legislation. But the good example set and the good results secured were of great value.

The school laws of Massachusetts soon influenced the other New England colonies. Connecticut passed school laws very

much like those of Massachusetts, and when New Hampshire was separated from Massachusetts and became a royal province in 1679, she continued in effect the school laws of Massachusetts. As a result, the public schools in these two colonies were very much like those of the older colony. Because of the unsettled condition of the government in Rhode Island, the condition of education was not so good there as in the other New England colonies. Several schools were established, however, and earnest efforts were made to better the condition of education.

(d) *New England Colleges*.—Not only do the New England colonies deserve great credit for beginning our public school system, but they deserve great credit also for laying the foundation of some of the greatest universities in the United States. There were many graduates of English universities among the early settlers of the Massachusetts Bay colony, and as soon as the colony became well established, they set about founding a college for the training of ministers. This was accomplished within seven years after the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company was granted. In 1636 the General Court made an appropriation for the establishment of a college at Newton (later called Cambridge), and two years later the college was given the name Harvard, in honor of John Harvard, who at his death left his library and a large part of his estate to the college. Sixty-five years later Yale College was founded in Connecticut on the same general lines as the older college. Still later Dartmouth College was founded in New Hampshire and Brown College in Rhode Island. While these colleges, during the colonial period, were little better than our present high schools, they kept alive and encouraged a love of learning; and after the Revolution they gradually developed, and some of them are now among the leading universities of the world.

142. Education in the Middle Colonies: (a) *New York and New Jersey*.—In the matter of education the middle colonies were behind New England and ahead of the southern colonies. New York was as well provided with schools as any of the middle colonies. When under the control of the Dutch, several fairly good schools were established and were partly supported by the government; but when the English got control of the

province, education declined. There was no well-established church to take charge of education. The legislature did nothing except to give a little financial aid to some private schools in the city of New York, and to pass an act for the establishment of grammar schools in the same city. The schools established under this act were few and they did not prosper. The best schools in the colony were the private schools in the city of New York. Some of these private schools were in charge of fairly good teachers, and did fairly good work in the primary branches.

In New Jersey the condition of education was about the same as in New York. The legislature did nothing toward the support of the schools. Some of the towns that had been settled by people from New England levied taxes to help pay the school teacher, and in a number of towns very good schools were maintained. The Presbyterian church was earnest in its effort to educate the people, and succeeded in maintaining a number of schools in which reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic were taught. The majority of the children in this colony, as in New York, had no opportunity to attend



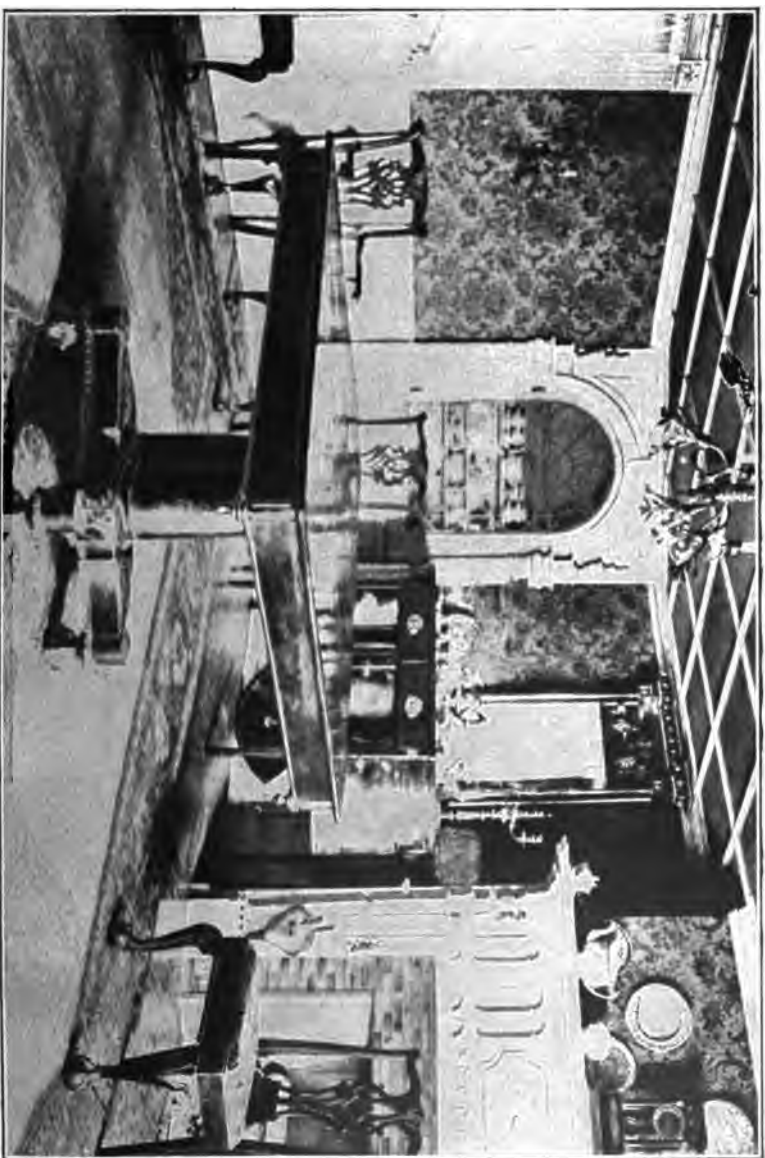
BIRTHPLACE OF FRANKLIN, BOSTON

a school of any kind, and had to depend entirely on their parents, friends or minister for instruction, the minister being, as a rule, the leader in educational matters as well as in religion.

(b) *Education in Pennsylvania and Delaware; Benjamin Franklin.*—Outside of Philadelphia and one or two other towns, the condition of education in Pennsylvania and Delaware was very poor, much worse than in New Jersey or New York. The majority of the people in the country could neither read nor write. Here, as in New Jersey, the Presbyterians made earnest efforts to educate the people. They maintained their “log-cabin”

schoolhouses in the face of the most trying conditions, and did a noble work for the colony. From the very first the city of Philadelphia maintained schools where any child could attend by paying a small tuition fee, and if the child were too poor to pay this fee, there were charity schools that he could attend where no charge was made. In matters of education, newspapers and learning in general, Philadelphia was one of the most progressive cities in the colonies. At the time of the Revolution she possessed two good libraries and was the center of learning in the thirteen colonies. Franklin was her leading citizen, and the greatest scholar in America. His scientific researches, one result of which was the discovery of the nature of lightning, made him honored and respected in Europe.

(c) *Colleges of the Middle Colonies.*—The middle colonies, like New England, laid the foundations of some of the greatest universities in the United States. The first movement toward founding a college was in 1743, when Franklin made plans for establishing a university. He was unable to accomplish anything then, but six years later organized an academy that, by 1775, grew into a college and received a charter. This was the founding of the University of Pennsylvania, which perhaps ranked first among all the colonial colleges, especially along scientific lines. Within six years after its founding there were over four hundred students in attendance, and the college was sufficiently prosperous to provide a high class of instruction. New Jersey owes her first college to the Presbyterian church, which in 1746 established a college at Princeton. While this college (now Princeton University) did not have so rapid a growth as the one in Pennsylvania, it was well managed and the instruction was good. New York, like New Jersey, owes her first college to a church. About the middle of the eighteenth century the Episcopal church founded King's College (now Columbia University) in New York City; but this institution did not prosper in colonial days, owing to the general feeling of opposition that then existed in New York toward the Episcopal church. It has since developed and, like Princeton and the University of Pennsylvania, now ranks among our greatest institutions of higher education.



Types of Early American Furniture
Now in possession of Mrs. John Marshall Holcombe at Hartford, Connecticut

HOW SLEEP THE BRAVE

How sleep the brave, who sink to rest
By all their country's wishes blest!
When Spring, with dewy fingers cold,
Returns to deck their hallowed mold,
She there shall dress a sweeter sod
Than Fancy's feet have ever trod.

By fairy hands their knell is rung;
By forms unseen their dirge is sung;
There Honor comes, a pilgrim gray,
To bless the turf that wraps their clay;
And Freedom shall awhile repair,
To dwell a weeping hermit there.

—William Collins

ORIGIN OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS

ORIGIN OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS

- I. American Institutions: Changes in, and from where Derived
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- III. Transfer of English Rights and Institutions to America

ORIGIN OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS

143. American Institutions; Changes in, and from where Derived.³⁸—A careful study of colonial conditions, or "Life in the Colonies," indicates plainly that the five institutions as they exist in the United States to-day are the direct outgrowth and modification of these institutions as they existed in the colonies. These five institutions of business, society, government, religion and education have changed somewhat since the Revolution. With some of them the change has been greater than with others. There has been a great change in the institution of business or industrial life, due largely to the great number of useful inventions and discoveries, such as the railroad, telegraph, electricity and the vast supply of useful machinery of all kinds. These discoveries and inventions, together with changes in the other institutions, have brought about a great change in the institution of society or social life. There has been considerable change since the time of the colonies in the institutions of government, religion and education. It is worthy of special notice, however, that in no instance has the change affected the real nature of any one of the five institutions. In no instance has the change been sudden or rapid; it has always been slow and gradual, much like the gradual growth of a tree.

On all the more important points each of the five institutions is the same to-day as it was when the English colonies were first planted in the New World. Many persons do not realize this. They seem to believe that the English people since they settled in America, and especially since the colonies became the United States, made or created these institutions. This idea is wrong. The English settlers brought them over from England when the colonies were first settled. These institutions, in one form or another, have always existed in all nations, but the particular forms or kinds brought over from England had been gradually developed by the English people, during a period of more than a thousand years. In order to understand many things in the history of the United States, it is necessary to learn something about how the English people developed their

institutions, and especially is it necessary to learn something about how they developed the institution of government. It is interesting as well as valuable to study the institution of government in England before the English people settled in America.

144. Government in England; Relation to American Government.—In England, at the present time, the national government consists of three departments—executive, judicial and legislative—and it consisted of three departments when Columbus discovered America. As has already been stated, the national government in the United States consists of the same departments. In England the king is the head of the executive department, as is the President in the United States, but the king of England at the present time has not so much power and authority in the affairs of government as has the President of the United States. The judicial department in England is very much like the judicial department here. The legislative department in England, like the legislative department in the United States, consists of two houses—the upper, called the House of Lords, and the lower, called the House of Commons. The members of the House of Commons are elected by the people, as is the case with the members of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress. The House of Lords is composed of members of the English nobility. Each member holds his position in that House because of his title, while the members of the United States Senate are chosen by the state legislatures.

From this brief outline of the national government of England it is plain that the general plan of the government of the United States, and of the government of each state, was brought over from England by Englishmen when they founded the colonies. The same is true in many respects in regard to our local government. The county and township, in one form or another, have existed in England for more than a thousand years. In fact, the germs or beginnings of the county and township, and of many other forms of our government, existed among the wild Teuton tribes in the vast forests of Germany before three of them—Jutes, Angles and Saxons—conquered England and became Englishmen. Our ancestors, therefore, before they were called

Englishmen, began to develop in the forests of Germany the forms of government we enjoy to-day.

145. Outline of Struggle between King and People.—The legislative department of the English government had a hard struggle with the king, or executive department. Its powers were not well defined and firmly established until after the American Revolution. In fact, the Revolution was one of the causes that brought about the complete victory of the English Parliament, as the English legislative department is called. In this small book the growth of the English Parliament cannot



HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

be discussed to any great extent; but as the history of its growth is also a part of the history of our national and state legislatures, there are a few things concerning it that should be noted, at least briefly. In 1066 the Normans, from Normandy in France conquered England. Their leader, William, the Duke of Normandy, became king of England. Before the Normans conquered England, the earls and bishops and other great men of the kingdom met from time to time and made the laws for the nation. When William became king he did away with the meetings of these men, except for the purpose of paying him homage. He

made all the laws himself, and his officers and soldiers enforced them. He levied taxes, and imprisoned and executed men without due process of law. His power was supreme over all England, and the people had nothing whatever to say about the government. William used his power for the welfare of the English people, but some of his children and descendants, who afterwards ruled England, were very unjust and oppressive. Before the reign of William I, the English people had never been under despotic rule, and they were not willing that their king should have such power. They began to demand the right to make the laws that they must obey. The struggle was a long one and resulted in a number of wars. In 1649, as has already been stated, King Charles I was beheaded because he tried to overthrow the rights the people had secured. The English people were not completely successful in their contest for self-government until within the last hundred years; but they had secured a great many rights and powers in the government by the time Virginia and Massachusetts were founded. The people of no other nation in modern times had secured so many civil and political rights as the people of England enjoyed at that time.

146. Five Great English Rights:³⁰ (a) *Right of Taxation.*—In a certain sense it may be said that the long struggle for civil and political liberty in England began about eight hundred and forty years ago (1066), when William I became king of England. One of the main things for which the English people contended throughout all this long struggle was the right to vote the taxes they were to pay. They did not care so much about the taxes or duties levied on the commerce between England and other nations, but they wished to control all home or internal taxes. They wished to vote these taxes through a legislature or parliament that represented them.

(b) *The Right of Habeas Corpus.*—The people insisted also that there should be a law that would prevent the king or any officer from arresting any one and keeping him in jail in time of peace, unless the reasons for his arrest were stated and he had been proven guilty of the charges made against him by due process of law—that is, by a regular trial before the proper

court or jury. The law that gives a man the right when arrested to have the reasons for his arrest stated, and the right to be brought before the proper court or judge and tried on the charges made, is called Habeas Corpus. This law is very important, because when it does not exist officers can arrest a person, no matter if he be innocent and an excellent man, and keep him in jail the rest of his life. This is exactly what some of the English kings did, and therefore the English people were determined to secure this right by law.

(c) *The Right of Trial by Jury.*—The Right of Trial by Jury is another right that the people were determined to enjoy. This is a very important right, and it was developed slowly. Under this right, a man who has been arrested or accused of violating a law may insist on being tried by a jury of his fellow-citizens, usually twelve in number. Those who know anything about the matter of which the man is accused must tell it on oath to this jury. If the jury, after listening to all the evidence, decides that the man is guilty, he must be punished; if it decides that he is not guilty, the charge against him must be dismissed, and if he has been arrested, he must be set free.

(d) *The Right of Privacy in the Home.*—The people also demanded a law that would prohibit the king or any department of government from issuing in time of peace a general warrant or order of any kind that would give an officer the power to search any man's private house. They were willing that a special warrant, called a search warrant, be issued, giving an officer the right to search a certain house, provided the warrant named the house and stated the object of the search. This was a very important matter, because, in the absence of such a law, officers can go through the country and search all private houses, seize property, and in other ways make a great deal of trouble for the people.

(e) *The Right of Refusing to Quarter Soldiers.*—The people were determined also to prevent soldiers from being quartered on them in times of peace. Quartering soldiers on a man means compelling him to take soldiers into his house in time of peace and to provide food and shelter for them. The English kings often did this, and it was a great hardship on the people.

The five rights outlined above are the ones that the English people were especially determined to secure. These rights protect the lives, the property and the homes of the people. Stated in a clearer and more concise form, these five rights are:

- (1) **The Right of Taxation.** This means the right of the people to determine matters of taxation by a body of men who represent them. This right is sometimes referred to as "No Taxation without Representation."
- (2) **The Right of Habeas Corpus.** This means the right of a person to be free from arrest and imprisonment in time of peace, unless he be charged with a specific crime and found guilty within a reasonable time by the proper court or jury.
- (3) **The Right of Trial by Jury.** This means that when a man has been arrested, or is accused of violating the law, he may demand that a jury of his fellow-citizens shall decide whether he is or is not guilty.
- (4) **The Right of Privacy in the Home.** This means the right of a person to have his home free from search by an officer in time of peace unless that officer has a written order from the proper department of government, which names or specifies his house, and states the object for which the search is to be made.
- (5) **The Right of Refusing to Quarter Soldiers.** This means that a person in time of peace may refuse to keep soldiers in his house, or to provide food and lodging for them.

147. How Englishmen Secured Their Rights: (a) *Magna Charta*.—The English people had to go through a long and hard struggle in order to secure these rights. When a despotic king became very oppressive and unjust the people would take up arms and compel him to respect their rights and to grant them more. In 1215 the great barons of England made war on King John and compelled him to sign a paper in which he promised to be just in his government, and that the English people should forever enjoy many of the rights for which they had been contending. This paper, or document, that John signed is called *Magna Charta*, which means the Great Charter of English liberties.

But King John and many of the kings who followed him did not carry out the promises contained in the Great Charter, and so the struggle went on from century to century, the disputes often resulting in war between the people and the king. During all this time the rights of the people were becoming more and



SIGNING OF MAGNA CHARTA BY KING JOHN

more firmly established. By 1400 Parliament, that is, the national legislature or law-making body of England, had become established, and was divided into the House of Lords and the House of Commons. Many of the kings were still opposed to Parliament, and in many ways governed the people without its

consent and against its wishes, but it was becoming stronger and stronger. By 1600 Parliament had become still more powerful, but King James I compelled it to adjourn, and tried to rule without it. He could not levy taxes, however, because the right of Parliament to do this had become firmly established.

(b) *Petition of Right*.—When Charles I became king in 1625, he attempted to raise money without the consent of Parliament, but in 1628 it forced him to sign a paper called the Petition of Right. In many respects this was like the Great Charter that King John was forced to sign in 1215. In the Petition of Right, Charles promised that the people should enjoy the rights stated in it and those granted in the Great Charter. When Parliament adjourned, however, he began to violate his promises and to levy taxes without its consent. The people made war against him, and in 1649 he was beheaded. Parliament then ruled England without a king for ten years, at the end of which time Charles' son became king.

(c) *Victory of the People*.—Other kings tried to deprive the people of their rights, but the authority of Parliament has been supreme since the American Revolution. Although many Englishmen could not vote for the members of Parliament at that time, this legislative body represented the people. Thus after a struggle of more than seven hundred years the English people had firmly established many rights, chief among which were the rights to tax themselves and make the laws; the right of Habeas Corpus; the right of privacy in their homes; the right not to have soldiers quartered in their homes; and the right of trial by jury.

148. Transfer of English Rights and Institutions to America.—When the English people came over from England and founded the English colonies in America, they brought with them their ideas of what the nature of the five institutions should be. They came from a land where their ancestors for centuries had worked and fought and died in order to secure civil and political rights. English history was their history, and, like the Englishmen who remained in England, they loved the important rights that Englishmen had secured. If necessary, they were willing to die to preserve them.

(a) *Parliament and the Colonial Legislatures.*—As has been already seen, each colony had a legislature that made the laws and levied all its home or internal taxes. But there was one very important difference between the legislatures in the colonies and the Parliament of England. The members of the House of Commons were elected by the people, but very few of the English people had the right to vote. The members were not elected by the township or county. They represented cities and districts, or boroughs, and a member was not required to live in a city or borough in order to represent it. He might live in one end of England and represent in the House of Commons a city in the other end. In the colonies a member of the lower branch of the legislature represented a county, township or district, and it was necessary for him to live in the county, township or district that he represented. Every man who owned a small amount of property could vote for members of the lower branch of the legislature. The legislatures in the colonies, therefore, were much more democratic than was the Parliament of England.

(b) *Growth of Popular Liberty in the Colonies.*—The English people in the colonies, therefore, were not only enjoying the rights they brought with them from England, but were rapidly extending them and securing others, and were establishing all these rights more firmly than were the Englishmen who remained in England. This was due to the fact that they lived far from England and the attention and influence of the king, and under new conditions in a new and wild country that naturally developed independence in character and action. It was also due to the fact that most of those who founded the colonies were men of strong character and determined purpose, for usually it was only men of this character who were willing to leave their old homes and face the hardships of the New World.

THE AMERICAN FLAG

When Freedom, from her mountain height,
Unfurled her standard to the air,
She tore the azure robe of night,
And set the stars of glory there.
She mingled with its gorgeous dyes
The milky baldrick of the skies,
And striped its pure, celestial white
With streakings of the morning light,
Then, from his mansion in the sun,
She called her eagle bearer down,
And gave into his mighty hand
The symbol of her chosen land.

Majestic monarch of the cloud!
Who rear'st aloft thy regal form,
To hear the tempest trummings loud
And see the lightning lances driven,
When strive the warriors of the storm,
And rolls the thunder-drum of heaven—
Child of the sun! to thee 'tis given
To guard the banner of the free;
To hover in the sulphur smoke,
To ward away the battle stroke;
And bid its blending shine afar,
Like rainbows on the clouds of war,
The harbingers of victory!

* * * *

Flag of the free heart's hope and home,
By angel hands to valor given,
Thy stars have lit the welkin dome,
And all thy hues were born in heaven.
Forever float that standard sheet!
Where breathes the foe but falls before us,
With Freedom's soil beneath our feet,
And Freedom's banner streaming o'er us!

—Joseph Rodman Drake

THE CRITICAL PERIOD

THE CRITICAL PERIOD

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THE CRITICAL PERIOD

149. The Nature of the National Government.—Although the Treaty of Paris ended the American Revolution, conditions in the United States, from the standpoint of both business and government, continued very serious indeed. In many ways the years between 1783 and 1789 were the most critical in the history of the United States. The period covered by these years has been aptly and fittingly called by Fiske “The Critical Period of American History.”⁴⁰

(a) *Government by the Continental Congress.*—The bad condition of affairs during this period was due to the fact that there was no strong central government in the United States. From the beginning of the Revolution until 1781 the Continental Congress directed and attended to the general affairs of the states. There was no other form of national government. This Congress had no legal standing. It was not created by any constitution or law, and hence its powers and duties were not defined in any way. It tried to do what was necessary to carry on the war with success; but, as it had no power to enforce its acts or laws, its efforts were not always successful, and as a result Washington’s plans were often injured. It could not raise armies, levy taxes or regulate commerce—three powers that a national government must have if it wishes to live and have its laws obeyed. All Congress could do was to ask the states to do certain things. It could not do them itself, nor could it compel the states to do them. Sometimes a state granted the request of Congress, and sometimes it did not.

(b) *Government under Articles of Confederation.*—In 1781—about two years before the war closed—a sort of written constitution went into effect. This constitution is known as the Articles of Confederation. It was prepared by Congress and submitted to the states in 1777, but was not ratified by all the states and put into effect until 1781. This constitution merely put into written form and legalized the powers Congress had already assumed and exercised. Congress was still the national or general government for all the states, and it had no

more power than it had before this written constitution or agreement was adopted by the states. In some ways it had less power. It could not even request the states for soldiers or money unless a majority of the delegates from each of nine states voted in favor of making such request, whereas previously Congress could adopt any measure if but seven states voted in favor of such measure. This was indeed a weak form of government, and naturally did not secure the respect of the American people or of foreign governments. Even when the war was going on, the states often did not grant the requests of Congress, and after the actual pressure of war had been removed each state did about as it pleased. Congress did not have power to carry out its treaties and agreements with foreign governments, and as a result these governments, between 1783 and 1789, came to have less and less respect for the United States.

The responsibility for this weak and inefficient national government rested with the people. They were afraid that a strong central government would try to take away their rights, as the government of England had tried to do. It required five hard and dangerous years after the end of the war to convince them that a strong central government was necessary to their happiness and to the welfare of the new nation. The conditions and events that caused a majority of the American people to change their ideas about a strong national government, and to adopt and ratify the present Constitution, will now be discussed.

150. The Northwest Territory: Ordinance of 1787.⁴¹—The most important law enacted by Congress under the Articles of Confederation is the Ordinance of 1787, adopted in July, 1787. This law provided for the organization and government of what was then called the Northwest Territory. This territory was north of the Ohio, and included what are now the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota. During the greater part of the Revolution it was claimed by Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York, but Maryland refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation until these states agreed to cede it to Congress and thus make it the common property of all the states. Seeing that Maryland would not ratify the Articles of Confederation until they agreed

to do this, these four states finally complied with her request. By 1786 all this vast territory became the common property of all the states and was under the direct control of Congress.

As stated above, the Ordinance of 1787 provided for the government of this territory. This ordinance or law is of very great importance for several reasons. The government it created for this territory has been copied, with slight changes, in all the new territories since acquired by the United States, except that acquired as a result of the recent war with Spain. The ordinance provided that the governor of the territory was to



FORT WAYNE, INDIANA, IN 1794

be appointed by Congress, but there was to be a legislature or law-making body composed of delegates elected by the people of the territory. It provided also that when the population became large enough, the territory should be divided; that these divisions should be made states, and that they should be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original thirteen states. Since this ordinance was adopted, and in compliance with the form of government it provided, thirty-three new states have been added to the original thirteen, making a grand total of forty-six at the present time (1909). The ordinance also contained the very important provision that slavery should never



exist in the Northwest Territory, or in any state that might be created from it. This was the first legislation of importance by Congress on the question of slavery. It was adopted without any unpleasant discussion, but during the next seventy-five years there were to be many bitter disputes in Congress over the question of slavery in the territories. The cession of the Northwest Territory to the United States had another very important result. It tended to keep the states from separating during the critical period of our history. All the states felt that they had a common interest in this land, and that Congress had charge of it for them. Congress did not really have the legal authority to take charge of this territory, but it very wisely assumed the authority. It sold the land to settlers and used the money to defray the expenses of the national government.

151. Condition of Money, Business and Commerce: (a) *Lack of Hard Money; Paper Money.*—The lack of hard money in the states during the Revolution and immediately after, and the bad condition of business, caused great distress and suffering among the people, especially among the poorer classes. No gold or silver money was made by the United States until 1793—ten years after the Revolution. All the hard moneys used were the coins of other nations, mostly those of England, Spain and France. There was very little hard money in the states during the Revolution, and after the war nearly all of this was used to pay for the large amount of manufactured goods sent over by English merchants and of which the Americans were badly in need because they had been unable to obtain such goods while the British fleets were blockading the coast.

During the Revolution, Congress felt that it was necessary to issue large amounts of paper money in order to carry on the war successfully. The people of the country soon came to believe that Congress could never redeem this money; that is, give a person a dollar of hard money for every dollar of paper money he might have. When the people came to believe this, the value of paper money became less and less, because the people did not wish to accept it in payment for their goods. Before the war closed a thousand dollars of this money was not worth a dollar of hard money. The paper money issued

by Congress during the Revolution was called Continental Currency. When speaking of something worthless, it soon became customary among the people to say that it was "not worth a continental," and this was the origin of that expression. It would seem that such experience with the worthless continental money issued by Congress would have taught the people that it was a bad thing to issue paper money that could not be redeemed with hard money. It did not, however, for during the Critical Period there was a strong paper money party in all but two of the states. Some of the states issued paper money, but like the paper money that Congress had issued it soon became almost worthless. Nothing could have been much worse for the people than this worthless money.

(b) *Business Depression*.—During the war the valuable fishing industry, and the still more valuable commerce of the states, had been almost totally destroyed, and the farming industry had been greatly injured. Many who were rich at the beginning of the Revolution had become poor, and the poor had become poorer. The lack of hard money and the worthless paper money caused conditions to become worse and worse during the Critical Period. The people could not pay their taxes, and as a result Congress could not pay the interest on the money it had borrowed to carry on the Revolution. It even had to borrow money for the running expenses of the government. The states would use most of the money raised by taxes for state purposes first, and give what they could spare to Congress for national purposes. Congress had no power to compel the states to comply with its requests. Europe had very little respect for a nation that could not pay its debts, and our ministers to foreign nations were not treated with very much respect or consideration, and were soon unable to make treaties or to borrow money.

(c) *Commercial Strife*.—The continuance of this bad condition of affairs with regard to money and business caused many thoughtful persons to become anxious about the future of the nation. It was preparing the people to welcome a government that would be strong enough to make these conditions better at home and secure respect from foreign nations. But the need for a stronger central government was soon to be made

still plainer by the commercial war some of the states began to wage against the others. Each state had the power to levy a duty or tax on the goods imported from the other states, as well as on all goods imported from foreign countries. Different states levied different taxes on the same article that was brought to the United States from Europe. This was bad enough, but when some of the states began to tax the goods brought from the other states, bitter feeling was created. Instead of being one nation, it began to look as if the United States consisted of thirteen nations.

152. Anarchy and Rebellion.—Worthless money, poor business conditions, and the commercial war between the states were not the only troubles that befell the United States during the Critical Period. There were quarrels over territory. New York and New Hampshire actually raised troops for the purpose of settling the dispute over the territory of Vermont, and there was an angry controversy between Connecticut and Pennsylvania over the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania. While all of these disputes were finally settled without actual warfare, they indicated plainly to thoughtful Americans that war between states might break out at any time.

In August, 1786, an insurrection, known as Shays' Rebellion, broke out in Massachusetts against the state government, and it was not put down until February of the next year. Many people became very much dissatisfied because the legislature would not pass a paper money bill. Some two thousand took up arms for the purpose of resisting the state authority, and it required more than four thousand state troops to put down the insurrection. At the same time there was open opposition to the state laws in both New Hampshire and Vermont.

The Constitutional Convention ⁴²

153. Events Leading to the Convention: (a) *Desire for Stronger Central Government.*—It is no wonder that under such conditions all thinking people in the United States were becoming alarmed for the welfare and life of the nation, and began to fear that before long even life and property would be

unsafe in some of the states. All these troubles about paper money, business, commerce and rebellion had made the people ready to establish a central government that would be strong enough to protect life and property in all the states, and that would give peace and prosperity to the nation. As a result of suggestions by Washington, events were taking place in Virginia and Maryland that soon gave the people of the United States a chance either to accept or reject a constitution that would establish a central or national government strong enough for all



WASHINGTON AND LAFAYETTE AT MOUNT VERNON

Lafayette visited Washington at Mount Vernon in 1784

purposes. These suggestions of Washington were at first small and modest, but the series of events they set in motion brought about mighty results.

(b) *The Meeting at Mount Vernon.*—In the presence of Congress at Annapolis, Maryland, on the twenty-third day of December, 1783, Washington resigned his command as commander in chief of the army of the United States. He refused to accept one cent as pay for his services during the eight years of the war. He asked Congress to repay his personal expenses when that body found it convenient to do so, and submitted a carefully prepared statement of the expenses he had incurred

in the service of the United States. He then hurried to his old home at Mount Vernon, Virginia, and spent his first Christmas at home since the beginning of the war. It was Washington's desire to spend the remainder of his days quietly on his beautiful Mount Vernon plantation, trusting that the nation would become peaceful, prosperous and strong. It had long been his desire to see the country west of the Alleghanies become settled, and he hoped that the trade of that rich territory would closely connect its people with those of the Atlantic coast, and thus keep the residents of these two sections of the country from drifting apart. He therefore suggested to his friends in Virginia that it would be a good thing to improve navigation on the upper part of the Potomac River and build good roads over into this new country. As part of the work would be on Maryland territory, he suggested that that state be invited to co-operate in the work. In accordance with these suggestions, delegates from Maryland and Virginia met at Washington's home in 1785 to discuss methods and plans for the construction of better roads into the western country. During this meeting at his home, Washington advised that Virginia and Maryland hold a joint convention for discussing this entire matter of building canals and roads, and he also suggested that this convention might agree upon uniform duties or taxes on all goods imported into these states. These disputes over duties were caused by the peculiar geographical position of these two states. The charter of Maryland had given her entire control of the Potomac River, which gave her the right to tax all goods going to western Virginia. But Virginia owned both capes at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, and therefore claimed the right to tax all goods going to Maryland through that body of water.

(c) *The Convention at Annapolis; Call for the Constitutional Convention.*—Acting upon these suggestions of Washington, the legislature of Maryland sent a communication to the legislature of Virginia asking that state to send delegates to meet at Annapolis for the purpose of discussing these matters, adding that it might be well to invite all the states to send delegates to this convention. Virginia at once proceeded to carry out this plan. When the convention met in September, 1786, it was

found that but five states were represented. The delegates therefore did not attempt to settle any of the questions proposed for discussion, but before adjourning they adopted a resolution advising that another convention be held at Philadelphia on the second Monday of May, 1787. Hamilton prepared the resolution. In it was embodied the idea of a stronger central government. Congress was asked to recommend to the several states that they appoint delegates to the proposed convention, but in the fall of 1786 that body refused to do so. About this time, however, Shays' Rebellion broke out in Massachusetts, and this, together with other riots and disturbances throughout the country, so thoroughly alarmed the people that Congress, in 1787, requested the states to appoint delegates as recommended by the convention at Annapolis. Virginia had already chosen delegates, and had selected Washington as one of them. When the news of Washington's selection as a delegate spread throughout the country, the people were very much pleased and began to take great interest in the proposed convention. They looked forward to it with the hope that it would do something to relieve the nation of the various troubles from which it was suffering.

154. Organization of the Convention; Character of the Members.—The convention that met at Philadelphia in May, 1787, is known in history as the Constitutional Convention, because it made or framed the present Constitution of the United States. The *Constitutional Convention* is of American origin, and the one that framed our national Constitution is by far the most important one ever held in America. It was composed of fifty-five members, who represented all the states except Rhode Island. In almost every case the states had sent their ablest men, and it is no doubt true that never before nor since have so many able men come together for the purpose of discussing government. In many ways Washington and Franklin were the ablest men in the convention. Madison, perhaps, came next. He did more than any other man in actually planning the Constitution. Hamilton of New York was another of the ablest of those present, but he had very little to do with making the Constitution. New York was opposed to a strong central gov-

ernment, and the two other members from that state soon left the convention and went home. As the voting in the convention was by states, Hamilton would not alone cast the vote of New York, and as a result he was not present at all the sessions. His ideas of a national government were not accepted, as he advocated a strong central government in which the states and people would have less power than most of the other members desired. Hamilton, however, was one of the ablest and strongest defenders of the Constitution after its final adoption by the convention. There were many other delegates in the convention with scarcely less ability and common sense than those named above. This was very fortunate for mankind, for the work to be done would affect the rest of the world as well as America.

Washington was elected president of the convention, and it was decided to sit with closed doors and keep everything secret until the work was complete. Madison made full notes of the debates and other proceedings, and much that was done and said in the convention during the four months it was in session was not made public until the publication of these notes fifty years later.

155. Making of the Constitution:⁴³ (a) *Decision as to Nature of Work.*—Although their work was to be very important, but few of the members had a definite idea of what they were to do, because the resolution that called the convention stated in only a general way that the purpose was to provide a better central government for the United States. Some of the members feared that the people would not ratify a constitution that provided for a strong central government, and they therefore suggested that the work of the convention be restricted to revising the Articles of Confederation. Washington, who had become thoroughly alarmed by the anarchy and rebellion of the past year, at once made "a brief but immortal speech, which ought to be blazoned in letters of gold and posted on the wall of every American assembly that shall meet to nominate a candidate, or declare a policy, or pass a law, so long as the weakness of human nature shall endure. Rising from his president's chair, his tall figure drawn up to its full height, he exclaimed in tones unwontedly solemn with suppressed emotion, 'It is too

probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair; the event is in the hand of God.'” After this advice the convention decided to draw up a new constitution, and not to try to patch up the old one.

(b) *The Virginia and New Jersey Plans.*—The delegates



JAMES MADISON

Fourth President of the United States

from Virginia submitted an outline for a new constitution, which is known as the Virginia plan. This plan provided for a national legislature to consist of two houses, the lower house to be composed of members elected directly by the people, the number from each state to be determined by population or wealth. The members of the upper house were to be elected by the members of the lower house. In each house a member was to have one vote, and the votes were not to be by states, as was the case under the Articles of Confederation. The Virginia plan provided also for an executive and a judicial department. This plan would have given the

large states much more power in the legislature than the small ones, and naturally the delegates from the small states would not consent to this.

Patterson of New Jersey submitted what is known as the New Jersey Plan. It provided for a legislative, an executive and a judicial department; but the legislative department was to consist of one house, to be composed of members elected by

the states, and each state was to have the same number of votes. The central government would thus remain a mere league of the states, as was the case under the Articles of Confederation. The real object of this plan was to prevent the large states from having more power in the government than the small ones.

(c) *The Three Great Compromises.*—The discussion of the Virginia and New Jersey plans lasted almost two months, and became so bitter that several times the convention came very nearly breaking up. Finally both sides agreed that the national legislature should consist of two houses. The lower house, called the House of Representatives, was to be composed of members elected directly by the people, and the number from a state was to be determined by the number of people in that state. The upper house, called the Senate, was to be composed of two members from each state, and they were to be elected by the state legislatures. In the Senate therefore the small states would have as much power as the large states, but in the House of Representatives the larger states would have the more power, because a state with a large population would have many more delegates than a state with a small population. This agreement was the first great compromise of the convention, and is known as the compromise between the large and small states.

The second great compromise was between the northern and the southern states over the question as to whether slaves should be counted as population when apportioning taxes and deciding how many representatives or delegates a state should have in the lower branch of the legislature. The members from the southern states wished all the slaves counted, while those from the northern states did not wish any of the slaves counted as population. The compromise on this point provided that in estimating population five slaves should be counted as three white persons.

The third great compromise was on the question of commerce and the importation of slaves, and was, like the second one, between the northern and the southern states, but the South was not united in this case. All the southern states were opposed to giving the new government complete control of commerce. South Carolina and Georgia wished to have the right to continue

the importation of slaves, but nearly all the other states were opposed to this. Finally the delegates from the far South and those from the North agreed that Congress should have complete control of commerce, and that slaves might be imported until 1808. Virginia strongly opposed both parts of this compromise, but it was adopted and made part of the Constitution.



SIGNING THE CONSTITUTION, SEPTEMBER 17, 1787

From an early unfinished picture

The other questions, regarding the legislative department and those relating to the executive and the judicial departments, were carefully discussed, but they were all settled without any dispute between the North and South, or between the small and large states, for there were no conflicting interests on these points. When the first compromise was adopted it was decided that there should be an executive and a judicial department, and the convention provided for them in the Constitution.

(d) *Close of the Constitutional Convention.*—On September 17 the convention finished its labors. During the four months that it had been in session, it had framed the greatest constitution ever conceived. Its members felt this, and were profoundly

impressed. On the last day, when all was finished, silence spread over the convention. "Washington sat with bowed head in silent meditation." Franklin felt that he had lived to see the dream of his life accomplished. Fiske says: "On the back of the president's quaint black armchair there was emblazoned a half-sun, brilliant with its gilded rays. As the meeting was breaking up and Washington arose, Franklin pointed to the chair, and made it the text for prophecy. 'As I have been sitting here all these weeks,' said he, 'I have often wondered whether yonder sun is rising or setting. But now I know that it is a rising sun.' "

The Constitution "

156. Congress—the Senate and the House of Representatives.—As has already been stated, the new Constitution provided for a national legislature. This legislature is called the Congress of the United States, and is composed of two houses—a lower, called the House of Representatives, and an upper, called the Senate. The national legislature was modeled very closely after the state legislatures, each of which was composed of two houses, and in many of the states the upper house was called the Senate and the lower one the House of Representatives. The members of the national House of Representatives are elected by the people for a term of two years, and in about the same way as the members of the state legislatures are elected. The new national government, therefore, acted upon each individual citizen, while the government under the Articles of Confederation acted upon the states. This is a most important difference. It makes our present central government a national government, while the old central government was simply a confederation of states. The members of the Senate are elected by the state legislatures for a term of six years. They represent the states, and not the people directly, and hence the Senate in this respect is much like what Congress was under the Articles of Confederation. Because the House of Representatives represents the people directly, and the Senate does not, all bills or laws for levying taxes or raising revenue must begin or originate

in the House. On the other hand, the Senate has the exclusive right to approve the appointments made by the President of the United States, and to help him make treaties with other nations. All the powers not granted to the national government by the Constitution, or prohibited to the states by it, still belong to the states or the people. The Constitution, however, conferred all the power necessary for a strong national government. Under its powers, Congress can declare war and make peace, raise and support armies, levy taxes, regulate commerce and coin money. These powers made it possible for the new government to enforce its laws, and thus secure the respect of the American people and of foreign nations.

157. The Executive Department.—The new Constitution created a strong executive department. The officer at the head of this department is called the President of the United States. He is elected for a term of four years by men selected in the different states especially for this purpose (see the Constitution of the United States). There is also a Vice President, who is elected in the same way. The Vice President is presiding officer of the Senate, and if the President dies or is removed from office, or becomes unable to perform the duties of his office, the Vice President becomes President. The President is commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States. In addition to other important duties he must defend the Constitution of the United States; enforce the laws enacted by Congress; appoint foreign ministers and make treaties with foreign nations; but all such appointments and treaties must be ratified by the Senate.

In order to assist the President with his great and important work, Congress has, from time to time, created a number of executive departments. At the present time there are nine of these departments. They are the departments of State, the Treasury, War, the Navy, the Post Office, the Interior, Justice, Agriculture, and Commerce and Labor. At the head of each department is an officer who directs the business of the department. With two exceptions this officer is called a Secretary. The head of the Post Office department is called the Postmaster-General, and the head of the Department of Justice is called the Attorney-General. Under the head of each department are

many men and women who help perform the duties of the department. The nine heads of departments comprise the President's Cabinet. The President often calls them together for advice and for the discussion of public matters. Such a meeting is called a Cabinet Meeting. The President appoints the nine heads of departments and many of the other more important officials in the departments. All appointments made by the President must be ratified by the Senate.

In addition to these important executive duties, the President takes a very important part in legislation. He can veto or object to any bill passed by Congress, and such bill does not then become a law unless each house of Congress again passes it by a two-thirds vote. If the President signs a bill passed by Congress, it becomes a law, and if he neglects to either sign or veto it within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it is presented to him, it becomes a law, provided Congress is still in session. From all this it will be seen that the new Constitution created a very powerful executive department, whereas under the Articles of Confederation there was no executive department at all.

158. The Judicial Department: (a) *Name and Composition of the Various Courts.*—The new Constitution created a judicial department, which was to consist of a Supreme Court and of such inferior courts as Congress might establish. By the wise legislation of Congress the judicial department has become of great importance in our government. At the head is the Supreme Court, which consists of nine judges or justices, one of whom is Chief Justice. The Chief Justice has no more power or authority than the other eight justices, except that he may preside at the sessions of the court. Congress has also created a number of lower courts, called Circuit Courts, District Courts, the Court of Claims and Circuit Court of Appeals. In order that the United States courts may better perform their duties, and make it more convenient for those who may have business in them, the United States is divided into a number of judicial districts. It is first divided into nine districts, sometimes called circuits, and each of these nine districts is divided into smaller districts. In addition to his duties as a member of the Supreme Court, which holds its terms or sessions at Washington,

each of the nine Justices is assigned to one of these nine districts, and he must hold a court, called Circuit Court, in his district at least once in two years. There are from two to four circuit judges in each circuit to assist the Supreme Justice in holding these Circuit Courts. As stated above, each of the nine circuit districts is divided into smaller districts, and there is a separate



JOHN RUTLEDGE
Member of the Constitutional Convention
from South Carolina

judge for each of these smaller districts. The district judge holds what is called a District Court. There is also what is called a Circuit Court of Appeals in each of the nine circuit districts. There are no separate judges for this court. It is held by the regular circuit judges of the circuit district and by the Justice of the Supreme Court assigned to that district. The Court of Claims is composed of five judges, and holds its sessions at Washington. All the judges of all these courts are appointed by the President, but each appointment must be confirmed by the Senate.

They hold office for life, unless removed by Congress for misconduct. It is the duty of all these courts to interpret and apply the laws that relate to the national government.

(b) *Jurisdiction of the Several Courts.*—The Constitution, the laws enacted by Congress, and the treaties of the United States are interpreted and applied by the regular United States courts. There are some questions or cases that can be tried and decided only by the Supreme Court. A class of less important questions can be tried and decided first by the Circuit Courts, and a class of still less important questions can be decided first in the District Courts. If a man thinks that some one is trying to deprive him of something to which he is entitled by the Con-

stitution, or by a law passed by Congress, he can bring an action in one of the United States courts for the purpose of securing what belongs to him. If the case is one that must be tried first in a District Court, he must bring it before the court of the district in which he has been wronged. In many cases, if either party is not satisfied with the decision of this court, he may appeal to the Circuit Court; if either party is not satisfied with the decision of the Circuit Court, he may appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals; and in many cases, if either party is not satisfied with the decision of the Court of Appeals, he may appeal to the Supreme Court. The suit or case just discussed is one that is brought by a citizen; but the United States through its officers may also bring suit against any one who violates either the Constitution or a law passed by Congress.

The Court of Claims is really not a part of the regular judicial department. Sometimes the army of the United States or some of its officers are compelled to use or injure the property of a citizen, and because of circumstances may not be able to pay him for it. As the United States cannot be sued, this man can not present his claim to any of the regular courts. He can bring the matter before the Court of Claims, however, and it can recommend to Congress that it pay him a certain amount. Congress then may exercise its own judgment, but it usually adopts the recommendations of the Court of Claims.

(c) *The Supreme Court.*—In all cases the decision of the Supreme Court is final. Its decision and the decisions of the lower courts will be enforced, even if to do so requires the use of the entire army and navy of the United States. In deciding a case, the Supreme Court may declare that some act of the President, or that some law enacted by Congress, is not in accord with the Constitution, and that therefore it is null and void. Thus it becomes plain that the Supreme Court interprets and applies the Constitution, and that in this important respect it is at the very head of the national government. The high character and ability of the Supreme Court have made it honored and respected all over the world. No other nation has a court that has such supreme power. In framing the legislative and executive departments of the new government, the Constitutional

Convention merely applied to the national government the principles of government that already existed in the states and in England; but when it gave to the Supreme Court the right to interpret the Constitution, and to set aside a law of Congress, it created a new principle of government, which is of the very greatest importance.

159. Ratification of the Constitution.⁴⁵—The Constitutional Convention did its work well. It framed the best constitution for a national government that has ever been prepared by any body of men. Under it the United States has become one of the greatest and most prosperous nations of the world. To us it may seem that the different states would have been glad to ratify and adopt the excellent Constitution made by the convention. But such was not the case. It seemed for a while that the new Constitution would never go into effect. The Constitution itself provided that it should not go into effect until it had been ratified by at least nine of the states. After a lively debate the old Congress submitted the Constitution to the people of the various states. Then began one of the ablest and most remarkable campaigns in the history of America. During the four months that the convention was in secret session the people had become very anxious to know what kind of government it would propose. Many were afraid that the convention would provide for a government that would be dangerous to the rights of the people. Their experience with the English government made them afraid of a strong central government. It was but natural therefore that when the new Constitution was printed and sent out through the states, many opposed its ratification. They asserted that the central government for which it provided was too strong, and that it would become unjust and overthrow the liberties of the people. In most of the states the people soon became divided into two parties. Those who favored the ratification of the Constitution were called Federalists, and those opposed to its ratification were called Anti-Federalists.

The people did not vote directly on the ratification of the Constitution. It was ratified by special conventions elected for that purpose. The greatest contests were in New York, Massachusetts and Virginia. Hamilton and Madison were the leaders

of those who favored the ratification of the Constitution. One paper published eighty-five articles, all of which favored strongly the ratification of the new Constitution. These articles were later published in book form and are known as "The Federalist." They constitute what is, perhaps, the ablest discussion of government ever written. They had a profound effect on the people, and turned the tide in favor of the Constitution. They were written by Hamilton, Madison and Jay, a majority of them being written by Hamilton. In the New York convention this man was a tower of strength. Governor Clinton was strongly opposed to the Constitution, but Hamilton for weeks argued almost every day for its ratification. After a magnificent contest he was successful. On July 26, 1788, New York ratified the Constitution, but by the narrow majority of three votes. The contest in Massachusetts and Virginia had been almost as strong and close. After more than three weeks of debate, the Massachusetts convention in February, 1788, ratified the Constitution by the close vote of one hundred and eighty-seven to one hundred and sixty-eight. Madison led the fight for the Constitution in Virginia, and on June 25, 1778, that state approved the new plan of government, the vote being eighty-nine to seventy-nine. While nine states had already ratified the Constitution, the new Government, without the support of Virginia and New York, would very likely not have been a success. New York was the eleventh state to take favorable action, and in so doing removed the last doubt regarding the success of the work done by the Constitutional Convention.

160. Organization of the New Government.—By the ratification of the new Constitution the government that had been created by the Articles of Confederation came to an end. Electors to elect the first President of the United States were chosen on the first Wednesday of January, 1789. They were to choose a President on the first Wednesday in February, and Congress was to meet on the first Wednesday in March and count the vote for President as provided in the Constitution. But Congress did not organize until April 6. As New York did not choose electors, and as North Carolina and Rhode Island had not yet ratified the Constitution, there were but sixty-nine electoral votes

for President. Washington received every vote, and became the first President of the United States. John Adams received the next largest number and became the first Vice President.⁴⁶ Congress at once began to organize the different departments of government in accordance with the Constitution. It organized the courts of the judicial department. It also organized the executive or cabinet departments of state, the treasury, war and



PREPARATION AT GRAY'S FERRY, NEAR PHILADELPHIA, FOR RECEPTION TO
WASHINGTON ON HIS WAY TO NEW YORK TO BE INAUGURATED
FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

After a print published at the time of the Reception

justice. The department of justice was not fully organized until later, and the other cabinet departments have all been created since then. Washington appointed Jefferson the first Secretary of State, Hamilton the first Secretary of the Treasury, Knox the first Secretary of War and Randolph the first Attorney-General. Thus came to an end the Critical Period of American history, and thus went into effect the present Constitution of the United States.

**NATIONAL GROWTH AND EUROPEAN
INTERFERENCE**

NATIONAL GROWTH AND EUROPEAN INTERFERENCE

THE PERIOD OF EUROPEAN INTERFERENCE

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NATIONAL GROWTH AND EUROPEAN INTERFERENCE

Introductory

161. Two Periods of History.⁴⁷—The history of the United States from the time the new government was organized in 1789 to the beginning of the Civil War in 1861 may be divided into two periods. The first period extends from 1789 to about 1828, and the second from about 1828 to the Civil War. This division is based on strictly historical grounds. The history of the United States during these periods was shaped and controlled by many forces and conditions, but in each period certain causes and conditions stand out clearly as the determining factors in its history.

(a) *Main Forces and Conditions of Each Period.*—During the greater part of the first period the interference of foreign nations in the affairs of the United States had a profound effect on our history. A large part of the legislation of Congress related either directly or indirectly to this interference. This constant meddling in our affairs by Europe led finally to another war with England, which secured for the United States the proper respect and consideration of all the other nations. The main or controlling force in the history of the United States during the second period was the question of slavery in its relation to the westward growth of the nation in territory and population. During both periods the growth of the United States in territory, wealth and population was most rapid and important; but the main question in relation to this growth during the first period was European interference, and the main question during the second period was slavery. During the first period, however, slavery was quietly becoming more and more firmly established in the South, but the pressure of foreign nations on the United States and the manner in which the western country was settled kept this question fairly quiet. The opposition to Europe during the first period tended to unite the

American people and to create in them a patriotism and love for the nation and the national government, and to break down the idea of state supremacy that existed when the Constitution was adopted. During this first period, however, slavery was quietly causing the social and the industrial conditions of the



FEDERAL BUILDING, NEW YORK CITY

The first sessions of Congress were held in this building

North and South to become more and more unlike, and during the second period this resulted in bitter dissensions that ended in the American Civil War. It is plain therefore that the controlling forces or conditions in the history of the United States from 1789 to about 1828 were European interference in our affairs and the

rapid growth of the nation in territory and population, and that the controlling force or condition in our history from about 1828 to 1861 was the slavery question in relation to this continued rapid growth of the nation along these same lines. Hence, the first period will be called National Growth and European Interference, and the second period, Westward Expansion and Slavery.

(b) *Beginning of New Conditions.*—There are two other important reasons why the time about 1828 may be considered as marking the end of a period in the nation's history. These were the election of Jackson and the revolution in industrial conditions that took place about that time. Democratic ideas had been spreading among the people, but before the election of Jackson the government had been controlled largely by the educated and wealthier classes. His election was the triumph of the common people. During his administration there was a revolution in political methods. It was then that the Spoils System, the national nominating convention, and popular political campaigns were introduced into national politics.

The industrial revolution that took place about 1828 was of even greater importance than the political revolution just noted. Before that time the sewing machine, the reaper, the threshing machine and the railroad had not come into use. Soon after Jackson's election these and many other valuable inventions were made. The use of this valuable machinery and the revolution in transportation and communication caused by the railroad and telegraph worked a profound change in the industrial and social life of the people. The many important forces and conditions that either terminated or originated about 1828 marked the beginning of a new period in our history.

PERIOD OF EUROPEAN INTERFERENCE "

162. Origin of American Neutrality in European Affairs:

(a) *The French Revolution.*—When Washington became the first President of the United States, the people of France did not govern themselves as did the Americans. During the several hundred years before that time the French people did not have the power to help make their laws or assist in carrying on their

government. The king and his ministers and nobles governed France without considering the wishes and desires of the people. The taxes and rents were so high that thousands of the common people starved to death every year, while the nobles lived in luxury and wasted the money unjustly taken from the people. In no great nation since the fall of Rome were the people oppressed so cruelly as were those of France during all these years. The peasants were driven from their homes because they could not pay the high rents and taxes imposed on them. Men and women who had committed no crime were often thrown into prison and put to death without trial. It was but natural that the people should hate a government that oppressed them in this way, and that they should desire to destroy it. The French knew of the American Revolution, and that the Americans had a government they controlled and under the laws of which every citizen had equal rights. French soldiers and French money had helped the Americans during the Revolution,



LOUIS XVI

Beheaded during the French Revolution

and the French were therefore specially interested in the government of the United States. The example of the young republic of the New World helped to cause the people of France to attempt to destroy their unjust and oppressive government. In 1789 they began what is known in history as the French Revolution. This was a most bloody civil war. The people defeated the armies of the king, destroyed the government, and beheaded both the king and queen. Thousands of the nobles were beheaded. In Paris, women and girls brought their sewing and knitting to

the place of execution, and, while they sewed and knit, kept a record of the number beheaded by counting each head as it dropped into the basket. These and many similar acts shocked and horrified all Europe, but they were the natural result of the long years of oppression that the French people had suffered at the hands of their king and his nobles.⁴⁰

(b) *War between England and France; Sentiment in America.*—The rulers of the other nations of Europe became alarmed, however, at what was taking place in France. The policy of the new French government caused war to break out between France and England. This was in 1793, less than four years after the new government of the United States was organized, and but ten years after the end of the American Revolution. The people of France expected the people of the United States to help them in this war. They expected this because they had helped the Americans during the Revolution, and because they now, like the Americans then, were fighting for the right to make the laws and control the government under which they lived. The French people were not mistaken in the desire of the Americans to help them. Genet, an agent of the French government, came to the United States for the purpose of securing assistance for France in her war with England. Genet, called "Citizen Genet," before presenting to Washington his papers of appointment, called credentials, held meetings in several states and worked up great enthusiasm for the French cause. The Americans organized clubs for the assistance of France; wore the French cockade or tricolor on their hats; and addressed one another as "Citizen," as had become the custom in France. The people all over the United States, in mass meetings and through the press, urged and demanded that the government assist France.

But for the United States to do this meant the destruction of American commerce, and war with English and Indians along the frontier. Of far more importance, however, was the fact that for the United States to meddle in a war between France and England, in which she had no special interest, would set an example that would cause her to become involved in many other European quarrels and wars that did not directly affect

American affairs. The time had come thus early in her history when the new nation was called upon to decide whether she would take part in European affairs that did not concern her particularly and that must result in the frequent destruction of her commerce and in the useless loss of her best men, or whether she would remain neutral.

(c) *American Neutrality Proclaimed*.⁵⁰—Washington clearly foresaw the vast importance of this decision, and after mature deliberation he announced in a proclamation that the policy of the United States should be non-interference in European affairs. This decision marked him as a statesman of the highest rank. The people in general denounced the proclamation and demanded that France be given assistance; but the President, with a courage equal to that which he had shown on many a battlefield, held to his purpose calmly, and was finally sustained by Congress. Thus was born American Neutrality in European Affairs. The United States has ever since adhered steadfastly to this principle. The importance of this principle or unwritten law can hardly be overestimated. It has saved this nation from many a bloody and useless war, and has permitted it to develop its great natural resources unmolested by European quarrels and conflicts. At the suggestion of Washington and under his wise direction, the United States established the unwritten law that she would not interfere with those affairs of Europe that did not directly concern her. Thirty years later, during Monroe's administration, she established the unwritten law, called the Monroe doctrine, that denies to any European nation the right to interfere with strictly American affairs unless directly concerned.

163. The Jay Treaty: (a) *Rule of 1756; Right of Search*.—The next serious foreign questions which the new government was called upon to deal with were the disagreements and misunderstandings with England. The Treaty of 1783, which brought the Revolution to an end, left some important questions unsettled, and neither the United States nor Great Britain had carried out in good faith some of the provisions of that treaty. The war between England and France had given rise to other difficulties. The English insisted on enforcing what is known as the "Rule of 1756," which provided that a neutral nation



WASHINGTON

This picture represents Washington as he looked about 1788 and is after a painting by Peale.

could not enjoy in time of war a trade prohibited in time of peace. For instance: the Americans were not allowed by France to trade with the French West Indies in time of peace, but when the war broke out with England, the French were glad to open their West India ports to American commerce for the sake of obtaining supplies. By the Rule of 1756, which Great Britain now put in force, this trade was forbidden to Americans, and thus their commerce was greatly injured. This action and the refusal of the English to surrender all the forts on the frontier as provided by the Treaty of 1783, and their attempts to induce the Indians to attack the Americans, created in the United States a strong feeling against England.

But what created the strongest feeling against her was her claim that she had the right to search American vessels anywhere on the seas, and to take English sailors by force from such vessels and compel them to work on British ships. This is known as "The Right of Search" and the impressment of British sailors. It often happened that the English officers when searching American vessels would claim that American sailors were Englishmen, and as a result many native-born American citizens were compelled to serve in the British navy.

(b) *Terms of the Treaty; Reception by Americans.*—The whole attitude of the English government toward the United States during this period was one of insult and contempt. Congress and the people were about ready to go to war with England. Washington felt that a war at that time might be very serious to the new nation, and hence decided to make one more attempt to settle the various questions in dispute peacefully. He appointed John Jay, who was then Chief Justice of the United States, a special minister to England, and instructed him to proceed to London and arrange a treaty with the English government if possible. A treaty was prepared in 1794. It did not properly protect the interests and dignity of the United States. England refused to give up the right to search American vessels for British sailors, and by the terms of the treaty American commerce would continue to suffer. The treaty settled many questions, however, and Washington thought it better to accept it than to go to war. He therefore recommended that the

Senate ratify it, which that body did in 1795 by a very close vote. When the terms of the treaty became public, the people and the press denounced Washington and Jay most severely. Washington felt very much hurt at the attacks on his character, and declared that the language used by some of the papers in these attacks "could scarcely be applied to a Nero, to a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pickpocket." The treaty was certainly bad for the interests of the Americans and for the



WASHINGTON'S CARRIAGE

Built during Washington's first administration. This is a picture of the carriage as it appeared in the procession of the United Order of American Mechanics, in New York, Feb. 22, 1872, on the 140th birthday of the Father of his Country

dignity of the young nation, and could prove but a temporary settlement of the troubles. But it was wise, perhaps, to adopt the treaty and thus to postpone the war until the United States was better prepared.

164. The Breach with France: (a) *Effect of the Jay Treaty.*—One result of the Jay Treaty was to increase the feeling in France against the United States. By the treaty that the United States made with France after the surrender of Burgoyne in 1778, each agreed to assist the other if attacked by another

nation. When war broke out between France and England in 1793, the French government did not ask the American government to comply with all the terms of that treaty. This was due largely to the fact that the government then in power in France had destroyed the government that made the treaty with the United States. The French people, however, did not like the way Washington had treated Genet, although the latter's official conduct toward the United States was very improper. They thought that the refusal of the United States to help them in their war with England and other nations of Europe was a poor return for the assistance the Americans had received during their Revolution. The Jay Treaty was valuable to the commerce of England and injurious to the commerce of France. When this treaty became known in France, it created great indignation against the United States. The French said that the Americans had not only refused to assist them, but by this treaty they injured France and assisted England. The feeling in France against the United States became so strong that when Pinckney, the new American minister to France, arrived in Paris in 1797, the French government refused to receive him.

(b) *Attempt to Blackmail American Commissioners.*—The refusal to receive the American minister was a very serious offense to the United States, but President Adams, who became President March 4, 1796, at the end of Washington's term, was anxious to avoid war, and so appointed Elbridge Gerry and John Marshall to join Pinckney in Europe. These three men were instructed to try to make a treaty with France that would preserve peace between the two nations. When they reached Paris, France was under a form of government called the Directory. Instead of receiving the American commissioners in the proper way, the Directory sent three agents to meet them. These agents told the Americans that before they would be received by the French government they must, among other things, pay about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars to certain members of the Directory. This was really asking for a bribe. The American commissioners refused to comply with the request, and reported the entire matter to President Adams. In his report to Congress, Adams did not give the names of the

three agents who had asked a bribe of the American commissioners for the Directory, but referred to them as X, Y and Z, and hence this affair is sometimes called the X, Y, Z Affair. The publication of the report in the United States created great indignation. The press and the people demanded that war be declared against France for the insult which she had offered the nation.

(c) *War with France Averted.*—Congress ordered the rapid building of new war vessels, and at once prepared to raise an army. Washington was made commander in chief, and Congress was preparing to declare war. Fighting had actually begun on the sea. Two French vessels were captured, one defeated, and many French merchant vessels were either destroyed or captured. The determination of the Americans to go to war, and this decided success of the American navy, was a great surprise to France. As she was at war with nearly all the nations of Europe, she could ill afford to engage in a war with the United States also. The French government therefore informed the American Minister to The Netherlands that it would now be glad to receive commissioners from the United States. As Adams was very anxious to maintain peace, he appointed three more commissioners. Before they reached Paris the Directory had been overthrown, and Napoleon was at the head of the French government. The commissioners were well received, and a treaty was made in 1800 that settled everything satisfactorily to both nations.

165. The Alien and Sedition Acts.⁵¹—The Federalist party was the first political party to secure control of the national government. Among the leaders of this party were Washington, Adams and Hamilton. The Federalist party had control of the government during the two administrations of Washington and the administration of Adams. During this period the Anti-Federalist or Republican party was opposed to the Federalist party. Among the leaders of the Republican party were Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. The firm, patriotic stand that President Adams and the Federalist party took when the French government demanded a bribe of the American commissioners who had been sent to Paris to make a treaty made that party

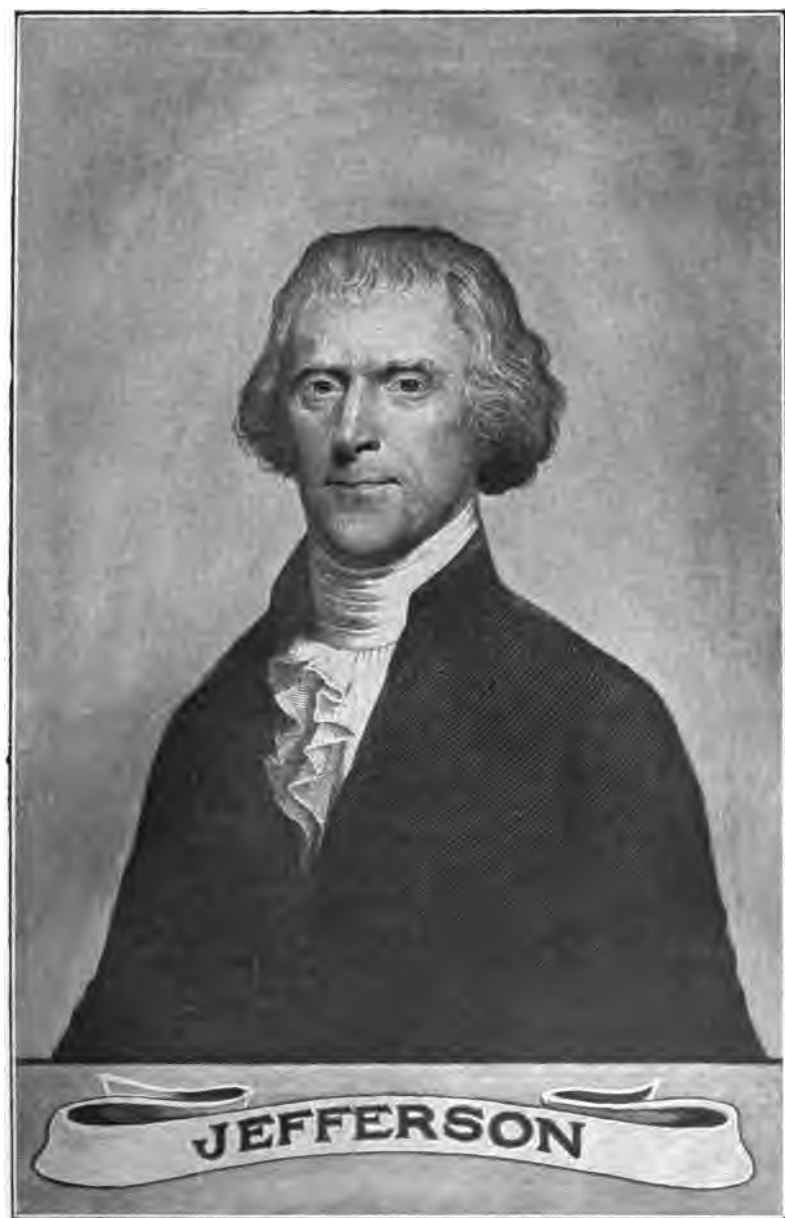
very popular with the people. But all this was soon to be changed. Some of the speakers and newspapers that supported the Republican party had denounced the Federalist party and its leaders most severely, very much as the speakers and newspapers of a party to-day denounce the opposite party. Washington had complained bitterly of the personal attacks made on him during his two administrations.

When the Federalist party found itself very popular with the people as a result of the firm stand that it had taken against France, its leaders in Congress proceeded to enact several laws that they hoped would prevent the speakers and newspapers of the Republican party from making these severe criticisms. These laws are known as the Alien and Sedition Acts, and were enacted by Congress in 1798. There were three laws directed against aliens or foreigners. The first one made it necessary for an alien to live in the United States fourteen years before he could become an American citizen, instead of five years, the time previously required; the second one gave the President the power to send out of the United States any alien whom he might deem dangerous to the peace and safety of the nation, and if such person returned, he might be imprisoned; by the third law against aliens, the President might, in time of war, arrest, imprison and deport all natives or subjects of the nation with which the United States was at war.

The Sedition Act or law gave the courts the power to imprison and fine aliens and American citizens who should speak or publish, or cause to be spoken or published, anything of a seditious or treasonable nature against the government, or even anything that would tend to defame the government or any of its officers. The Sedition Act was aimed at the speakers and newspapers of the Republican party, and this was true also of the Alien Acts, because many of the Republican speakers and editors of Republican papers were foreign-born and had not yet become American citizens. No attempt was ever made to enforce the last two of the Alien Acts, but a few were imprisoned and fined under the Sedition Act. These laws created a storm of indignation against the Federalist party. All of these laws except the first Alien Act expired in 1801. Their passage marks

the first and last attempt of the national government to interfere with freedom of speech and liberty of the press.

166. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.⁵²—One of the important results of the Alien and Sedition Acts was the passage of certain resolutions by the legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky. These resolutions are known as the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, those of Virginia being passed in 1798 and those of Kentucky in 1798 and 1799. The Kentucky Resolutions were written by Jefferson, and the Virginia Resolutions by Madison. Jefferson and Madison saw that the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts was an attempt on the part of the leaders of the Federalist party to injure the Republican party, and they hoped that the passage of resolutions against these laws by the legislatures of the different states would create among the people a strong feeling against the Federalist party. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions declared that the Constitution of the United States is simply a contract between the different states, and that the national government can enact no law unless it is given power in the contract—that is, the Constitution—to enact such law. Of course if Congress makes a law which the Constitution does not give it power to make, that law is unconstitutional and the Supreme Court of the United States can declare it null and void; but the Kentucky resolutions declared that each state had the power to declare a national law unconstitutional and to set it aside, while the Virginia resolutions declared that all the states acting together could do this. If the doctrines advocated by either set of these resolutions had been put into effect, it would have taken away from the Supreme Court the power granted it by the Constitution and would thus, in substance at least, have been a violation of that document. The legislatures of the northern states condemned the resolutions and they received no support from the legislatures of the other southern states. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions are of great importance because they were the first definite statement of the doctrine of state sovereignty as superior to national sovereignty. Jefferson and Madison, very likely, never intended that the doctrines stated in these resolutions should be carried out in practice, but had them passed for the purpose of checking



Congress in its tendency to enact laws that were not constitutional, and especially for the purpose of calling the attention of the people to the Alien and Sedition Acts in the hope that the Federalist party might be injured. In this respect the resolutions were a success.

167. The Purchase of Louisiana:⁵³ (a) *Commercial Importance of the Mississippi.*—Most of the goods exported and imported by the people who lived between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi were sent to Europe and to the eastern states down the Mississippi River by way of New Orleans. In order that the Americans might export goods by the way of the Mississippi, it was necessary for them to have some place at the mouth of the river near New Orleans where the goods could be unloaded from the river boats and placed on the ocean vessels, and in importing goods it was also necessary to have some such place in order that they might be transferred from the ocean vessels to the river boats. The United States did not own the territory on either side of the mouth of the Mississippi, and the American settlers in the Mississippi Valley, therefore, could not export and import goods by way of the Mississippi unless the nation to which the land at the mouth of the river belonged granted to the United States permission for Americans to load and unload goods on the banks of the Mississippi within the reach of ocean vessels. The territory of Louisiana, which included the territory on both sides of the mouth of the Mississippi, had belonged to Spain since 1763.

(b) *The Right of Deposit; France Acquires Louisiana.*—In 1795 Spain, in a treaty made with the United States, granted to the Americans the right to load and unload goods, in her territory on the banks of the Mississippi, at certain places within reach of ocean vessels. This right that Spain granted to the United States is known as the Right of Deposit. To the settlers west of the Alleghanies it was a most important right, because without it their commerce would be almost ruined. As long as Louisiana belonged to Spain, the Americans had little to fear, because Spain at that time was not a very strong nation, and if she did not grant the Westerners the proper rights regarding commerce, the territory could be taken from her by force of



arms. This was soon to be changed, however, for by a treaty made in 1800 Spain ceded all of Louisiana to France, but this treaty was not made public until two years later. The people of the United States, especially those of the West, became thoroughly alarmed when they learned that France had secured this territory. France, under the control of Napoleon, had become a great and aggressive nation. She might establish a great empire in the New World, and might seriously interfere with the development of the United States. All thoughtful American statesmen saw that the United States, sooner or later, would be compelled to go to war with France if the latter continued to hold Louisiana. Jefferson, who became President on



NEW ORLEANS IN 1719

Reproduced from an old drawing

March 4, 1801, at the end of Adams' term, was one of those who saw this plainly. Although he loved peace and had always been friendly to the French, he at once decided to make an alliance with England if necessary, and to join her in a war against France. Soon after it became known in America that France had secured Louisiana, and just before its final transfer, the Spanish governor at New Orleans denied to the Americans the Right of Deposit. The people of the West at once determined that the only outlet for their foreign trade should not be closed. They threatened to march to New Orleans and take possession of the territory along the Mississippi. If the government would not protect them, they threatened to ask England for protection. It thus became necessary for the government to do something at once.

(c) *Purchase of the Territory.*—Jefferson was very anxious to settle the matter peaceably if possible, and for this purpose he sent Monroe to France with instructions to join the American Minister in Paris, and to try to buy the territory lying along the east bank of the Mississippi, from the territory of the United States to the Gulf of Mexico. Napoleon at first refused to sell, but the failure of a French expedition to San Domingo, and the almost certain renewal of war with England, caused him to change his mind. He soon offered to sell to the United States not only the land at the mouth of the Mississippi, but the whole of Louisiana. He feared probably that England might get possession of this territory, and if France must lose it, he preferred that it should belong to the Americans. Its sale and transfer to the United States took place in 1803. The price paid for this rich and valuable domain was only fifteen million dollars.

168. European Interference with American Commerce:

(a) *Conditions in Europe, 1803-1815.*—From 1803 to 1815 England and France were engaged in war with each other almost continuously. In fact, during most of this time, France was at war with nearly all the other nations of Europe. In 1804 Napoleon became Emperor of France, and thus came to an end the French Revolution, which began in 1789, the year in which Washington was first elected President. Napoleon soon defeated the armies of Spain, Italy, Germany, Austria and Russia. With the exception of Russia he practically controlled all of these nations, and Russia was forced to comply with many of his wishes. England was the only nation in Europe that successfully opposed the arbitrary will and the unjust, unsafe and despotic ambitions of Napoleon. England controlled the seas, and was therefore secure from invasion; but she was not in condition to land troops in France and attack Napoleon on land with much hope of success. The great struggle between England and Napoleon during the years from 1803 to 1812 involved every civilized nation of importance except the United States, and in 1812 the United States went to war with England because of conditions growing out of this great European war. She should have gone to war with either France or England a long time

before this, because of the insults and humiliation that France and England heaped upon the United States during this period.

(b) *Decrees and Orders in Council; the Blockade Question.*—As France could not fight England on the seas, and as England could not fight France on land, each tried to injure the other by destroying her commerce. The English government, by proclamations called "Orders in Council," declared all the ports of France, and those ports of the rest of Europe that France controlled, in a state of blockade. Napoleon, by proclamations called "Decrees," declared all the ports of England in a state of blockade. The United States has always maintained that a port is not blockaded unless war vessels are actually present at that port and actually blockade it. France and England did not actually blockade the ports they declared blockaded, and the Americans therefore claimed the right to trade with all the nations of Europe. Both France and England denied to the Americans the right to do this, and both at once began to capture and destroy American merchant vessels.

This resulted in a great injury to American commerce, vessels and goods worth many millions of dollars being either captured or destroyed. English war vessels would wait just outside of American ports and capture American vessels as soon as they started for Europe. In addition to these insults, England was stopping and searching more American vessels and impressing more American citizens into the British navy than ever before. In 1807 the British war ship *Leopard* even fired upon the American war ship *Chesapeake*, and compelled her commander to surrender three American citizens and one British subject, all of whom were forced on board the British vessel and into the service of the English navy. For this direct insult to the American people and their government, the English government apologized, but flatly refused to give up its claim to the right to search American vessels. This attack on the *Chesapeake* created great excitement and indignation in the United States. Four years later, in May, 1811, a little more than one year before war broke out between England and the United States, the American war vessel *President* defeated the English war vessel *Little Belt*. This was regarded as a fair offset to the *Chesapeake* incident.

(c) *The Embargo Policy of Jefferson:* Americans cannot study this period of their history without a feeling of shame and humiliation. The United States should have declared war against either England or France when those nations began to capture and destroy American vessels. It would have been better, perhaps, to have attacked England instead of France, because of these two nations England alone had territory of importance in North America that the armies of the United States could have invaded, and she alone was guilty of searching



CITY OF WASHINGTON IN 1800

Jefferson was the first president inaugurated at Washington

American vessels and impressing American seamen. There seems no good reason why these insults should have been endured. The United States at that time could have raised, drilled and thoroughly equipped an army of more than one hundred thousand, and could have built a navy of at least fifty first-class vessels. With such an army and navy the United States could very likely have taken Canada and seriously injured the English navy, because her war with Napoleon required much of England's attention and resources. Jefferson, instead of building up the army and navy of the nation, loved peace so well and so feared a national debt that he reduced the navy from twenty-

seven vessels in commission for service to seven, stopped all construction of new vessels, and reduced the army about one-half.

For the purpose of compelling France and England to stop the destruction of American commerce, Jefferson, instead of preparing for war, induced Congress to pass what is known as the Embargo Act. This law forbade American vessels to leave American ports except to trade with other American ports. If obeyed, this law would have destroyed all trade with foreign nations. In order to enforce the Embargo Act, a law known as the Enforcement Act was passed. This law laid heavy restrictions on the coastwise trade of the United States and created bitter opposition, especially in New England, where commerce was the principal industry. The Embargo Act was ruining the commerce of the United States, and was doing but very little damage to either England or France. It seemed to amuse Napoleon, who said that by destroying American merchant vessels he was assisting Jefferson to enforce the laws of the United States, because the Embargo Act forbade American vessels to leave American ports.

In February, 1809, just before the close of Jefferson's second administration, the Embargo Act was repealed, and another law, known as the Non-intercourse Act, was enacted by Congress. This act forbade trade with France and England and the nations they controlled, but permitted it with the rest of the world. American commerce at once began to prosper, though the French and English destroyed many of our vessels. Madison, who became President in March, 1809, like Jefferson, loved peace, and was not inclined to go to war in order to put a stop to the insulting conduct of these two nations. But the new Congress that met in December, 1811, was determined to bring the period of humiliation to an end by declaring war against either France or England. Congress was assisted in its war plans by James Monroe. He had shortly before this been in Europe trying to make treaties more favorable to the United States. His failure to accomplish this had convinced him that these nations would never respect the rights of the United States until they were compelled to do so. He had much to do with winning the President's support to the energetic plans of Congress.

The War of 1812

169. Causes.—Among the members of the Congress that met in December, 1811, were many who were entering the national legislature for the first time. Henry Clay from Kentucky and John C. Calhoun from South Carolina were two of these new men. They and Webster, who entered Congress two years later from New Hampshire, were men of great ability and were closely connected with the political history of the United States during the next forty years. Very few of the statesmen who controlled affairs during the Revolution, and for a quarter of a century after, were now members of the national legislature. Statesmen of a younger generation had come into power. They represented the young and rising democracy of America, especially of the West. They were full of hope and strength, and believed in the future greatness of the nation. The first thing they determined to do was to compel Europe, especially England,



HENRY CLAY

to treat the United States with proper respect and consideration.

Under the leadership of these new men, Congress began to make preparations for war, and in June, 1812, declared war against England. Although Madison desired peace, he signed the declaration. The main causes of the war were the attacks on American commerce and the impressment of American sailors under the pretext that they were deserters from the English navy. In addition to these insults, which, as already seen, England had been heaping upon the United States for a number of years, the Americans had good reasons to suspect that the

English were inducing the Indians to attack the frontier settlements. When England saw that the United States was at last in earnest, she indicated a desire to settle the matter peaceably, but it was then too late.

170. The American Army and Navy.—During the progress of the War of 1812 the Americans suffered the results of the neglect of the army and navy by Jefferson, during his two administrations, and by Madison, during his first administration. But since real control of these matters is given by the Constitution to Congress, it deserves equal blame for carrying out the policy of Jefferson and Madison during this period. When war was declared, the army and navy could not have been in much worse condition. The army consisted of a few thousand men, and they were scattered along the frontier to protect the settlers against Indian attacks. The navy consisted of fewer than twenty vessels, and less than six of these were first-class battleships. There were more than a thousand vessels in the British navy, and of this number more than two hundred were among the best battleships in the world. In addition to having no army at the beginning of the war, the generals selected to organize an army and conduct the campaign were not, as a rule, able, energetic and determined men. To make matters still worse, many of the Federalists, especially those of New England, were opposed to the war and did much to hamper the government. The governors of most of the New England states refused to send the state troops outside of their states. Under all these adverse conditions there was little hope that the American armies would be successful, and the war on land was in the main a failure.

171. The War on Land: (a) *Campaign of 1812 Against Canada.*—The Americans planned to invade Canada during 1812. One army under Hull was to enter Canada at Detroit; one under Van Rensselaer was to enter at Queenstown just south of Lake Ontario; a third under Dearborn was to go down Lake Champlain and advance on Montreal. The armies under Hull and Van Rensselaer were to unite and march on Montreal, and after the capture of that place the three armies were to take Quebec and complete the conquest of Canada. These three armies

together consisted of fewer than fifteen thousand men, and they were poorly drilled and not very well commanded. Thus the Americans, with a mere handful of men, were undertaking the conquest of Canada, a task for which they should have had an army of about a hundred thousand, and it should have been well drilled, well equipped, and under the command of able generals. Hull surrendered Detroit and the territory of Michigan without even fighting a battle. For this he was tried and sentenced to death, but was pardoned by the President. A small part of the army under Van Rensselaer crossed the Niagara and at first defeated the British; but as the larger part of the American army refused to leave the territory of the United States, the American soldiers who crossed were finally defeated and captured. The army under Dearborn did not leave the state of New York. The first year of the war on land was thus a complete failure for the Americans.

(b) *Perry's Victory; Battle of the Thames.*—During the year 1813 the Americans regained what they had lost by Hull's surrender. This was due mainly to Perry's victory on Lake Erie. The British had a small fleet on that lake. In one of the protected inlets of the lake, Perry built a small fleet, got it safely across the bar into Lake Erie proper, and completely defeated the English fleet. This was one of the most brilliant victories of the war, and was due to the ability of Perry, who afterward became a commodore in the regular navy.

With Lake Erie under the control of Perry, Harrison, who now had command of the American Army in the Northwest Territory, was able to attack the British and their Indian allies under Proctor and Tecumseh. Kentucky sent about forty-five hundred men to Harrison, who then had an army of about six thousand. Perry transferred the Americans across Lake Erie. At a point on the Thames River, just southeast of Lake Huron, the British and Indian army was completely destroyed. Proctor escaped, but Tecumseh was killed. Tecumseh was an Indian warrior of great ability and noble character. Before the war broke out he had tried to unite all the western Indian tribes so as to prevent the further advance of the whites; but at the battle of Tippecanoe, in the fall of 1811, Harrison had completely

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defeated the Indians. The death of Tecumseh put a stop to the Indian attacks on the northwestern frontier, and the destruction of Proctor's army ended the fighting in the Northwest Territory. No other land battles of importance occurred during the year 1813.

(c) *Lundy's Lane; Macdonough's Victory; Capture of Washington.*—The principal events of the war on land during the year 1814 were the battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane in



BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE

Perry's flagship was destroyed and he transferred his flag to another ship while the battle was raging

Canada, just west of the Niagara River between Lakes Erie and Ontario; the invasion of New York; and the invasion of Maryland and the burning of the public buildings at Washington. The American army in the vicinity of the Niagara River consisted of about thirty-five thousand men and was under the command of General Brown, with Scott and Ripley next in command. These three young men were among the ablest generals that had command of an American army during the war. They defeated the British at the battle of Chippewa, and twenty days later held

their own in a bloody night battle at Lundy's Lane. They repulsed the British attack on Fort Erie, and while they could not invade Canada with their small army, they prevented the British from invading the United States at this point.

The attempt of the British to invade New York by way of Lake Champlain resulted in failure. Commodore Macdonough, with a small American fleet, destroyed a small British fleet on that lake. This victory was quite important and was due to the genius and ability of Macdonough. The British were preparing to invade New York with a veteran army of at least ten thousand men; but when they lost control of Lake Champlain, they withdrew after the small battle of Plattsburg, which took place on the west shore of the lake just south of the Canadian line.

In August a British army, consisting of some four thousand veterans under the command of General Ross, sailed up the Chesapeake, landed at Benedict on the Patuxent River, and began its advance on the city of Washington. Although this attack was expected, no preparations had been made for the defense of the city except to collect a force of six thousand militia. The two armies met at Bladensburg, a short distance from Washington. The larger part of the American army fled when the battle first began. Four hundred American marines fought bravely, but they were soon either killed, captured, or forced to retreat. The British entered Washington and burned the Capitol and other public buildings. This was a useless and barbarous destruction of public buildings and valuable records, and thoughtful Englishmen have always denounced it as such. General Ross next attempted to capture Baltimore, but he was killed and his army forced to retreat. This ended the operations on land during the year 1814.

(d) *Battle of New Orleans.*—There was but one more land battle fought during the war. That was the battle of New Orleans, which took place on January 8, 1815, just fifteen days after the treaty of peace had been signed at the village of Ghent in Belgium. England had determined to secure the territory of Louisiana, and for this purpose had decided to capture New Orleans. Europe had completely defeated Napoleon and had compelled him to leave France. This left England free to send

to America her veteran soldiers who had been fighting Napoleon. A fleet of fifty vessels, carrying about twelve thousand of these veterans, sailed for America in the autumn of 1814 for the purpose of capturing New Orleans and securing Louisiana. General Andrew Jackson had command of the army at New Orleans, and it was soon evident that the capture of that city would not be accomplished as was the capture of the city of Washington. Jackson placed New Orleans under martial law, and pressed every available man, horse and mule into service. By working



BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS

night and day he succeeded in intrenching his army a few miles below the city before the British, under the veteran general Pakenham, were ready for the attack. The British advanced to the attack early in the morning of January 8 and were defeated with a loss of more than two thousand, while the total American loss was only seventy-one. Among the killed was the brave Pakenham. The British gave up the attempt to capture New Orleans, embarked on their vessels, and sailed away. This was the greatest as well as the last land battle of the war. It indicated what might have been the result along the Canadian

border had a general of Jackson's ability and determination been in charge of affairs.

172. The War on Sea.—While the American navy, consisting of fewer than twenty vessels, had no chance whatever of final success in a contest with the British navy of more than a thousand vessels, the work it did was in striking contrast with that of the army, and remains a source of pride to the nation. During the year 1812, five vessels of the British navy were defeated and captured without the loss of an American vessel.



THE *Constitution* (OLD IRONSIDES) AND THE *Guerriere*

During the year 1813 the British captured six or seven American vessels, which together carried about a hundred guns; but during this same year the Americans captured twenty British war vessels, which together carried about three hundred and fifty guns. The last naval battle, which was the last engagement of the war, was fought in February, 1815, more than a month after the treaty of peace had been signed. In this last naval battle, as was the case in the last land battle, the Americans won a decisive victory. The United States vessel *Constitution* (nicknamed "Old Ironsides") captured two British vessels. As was to be expected, the large British navy finally succeeded in

destroying most of the few American war vessels and in blockading most of the harbors of the United States. But in a battle between a British and an American vessel of about equal size, the British ship was usually defeated and captured. England had not been thus defeated on the ocean for more than one hundred and fifty years, and the splendid successes of the little American navy did more to secure for the United States the respect of England and the rest of Europe than did the war on land.

The American privateers, however, did more real damage to the English than did the American navy. A privateer is a vessel owned by private citizens and given permission by the government to destroy the commerce of the enemy. During the war of 1812 the United States licensed more than two hundred privateers, which captured or destroyed more than two thousand merchant vessels and secured goods worth many millions of dollars. They even took some prizes along the coast of England. One of them captured a town on the coast of Scotland and destroyed the vessels in the harbor. This great damage to English commerce helped to hasten the end of the war, as it induced the English merchants to urge their government to make peace.

173. Treaty of Ghent; Results of the War.—As has already been stated, the treaty of peace was signed at Ghent in Belgium on December 24, 1814. It provided for the restoration of the conquests of both parties, and arranged for the settlement of boundary disputes and other questions. The causes of the war were not mentioned in the treaty; but while these questions were not mentioned, the war really secured the commercial independence of the United States. Never since then has any nation interfered with American commerce or attempted the impressment of American seamen. The restrictions on commerce during the war caused the birth of American factories by compelling the people, and especially those in the North, to invest their money in manufacturing rather than commerce, and compelling the people to buy manufactured goods made in home factories. The war also did much to unify the nation, in spite of the opposition of the Federalists. It made the national government stronger by compelling a broad interpretation of the Constitu-

tion. It made the nation independent of Europe in many ways and tended to make it independent of its own colonial conditions and traditions. From this time on there was a much stronger national feeling among the people.

174. The Hartford Convention.—As one of the principal industries of New England was foreign commerce, the embargo and non-importation policy of Jefferson, especially the Enforcement Act that provided drastic measures for the enforcement of this policy, greatly injured the business interests of that section. The people of New England soon became strongly opposed to these laws because of this great injury to commerce. In 1809 the legislature of Massachusetts passed resolutions that in spirit were much the same as the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. The passage of these resolutions was due partly to the fact that New England was strongly Federalist, and was vigorously opposed to Jefferson and the principles of the Republican party. The people of this section were inclined also to be friendly with England because of commercial relations with that nation, and were therefore opposed to the war of 1812, which they referred to as "Mr. Madison's war," although Madison desired peace and signed the declaration of war because of the firm stand Congress had taken in the matter. As the war progressed, New England became still more opposed to it, and from a number of things that took place it seems quite probable that her leaders were contemplating some kind of armed resistance to the national government.

In 1814 delegates from the various New England states met in convention at Hartford, Connecticut, to consider plans for unity of action on the part of New England. This convention held its meetings behind closed doors, and passed resolutions declaring, among other things, that when the Constitution was violated by acts of Congress, it became the duty of a state to oppose the enforcement of such laws. The convention requested that a part of the United States revenues collected in New England be given to the states of that section for their defense. Commissioners were sent to Congress bearing these and other resolutions of similar nature, but peace having been declared before they reached Washington they at once dropped the whole

matter. The doctrines or policies set forth in the resolutions passed by the Hartford convention were much stronger than those contained in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. Had they been carried out, they would have practically destroyed the national government.

175. The Purchase of Florida.⁵⁴—When the United States bought Louisiana Napoleon refused to tell her what France and Spain understood to be the boundaries of that territory. It was therefore uncertain at that time whether the United States had purchased either Texas or West Florida, or both. It was discovered years afterward that according to the French records Texas but not West Florida formed a part of Louisiana, but of course the United States did not know that fact at the time. But the Americans desired West Florida, and in 1810 they took possession of that part of this territory that bordered on the Mississippi. Spain protested against this action, but her war with Napoleon made it impossible for her to do anything. She could not properly govern the rest of Florida. Criminals and Indians made it their home, and would frequently cross over into the United States and murder men, women and children. The Spanish settlers encouraged the Indians in Florida, and also those in the United States just across the border, to do these things. In 1818 the government sent General Jackson south with orders to stop the Indian attacks on the settlements along the frontier of Georgia. He defeated the Indians, pursued them across the border into Florida, captured the Spanish towns of St. Marks and Pensacola, and hanged two Englishmen whom he accused of assisting the Indians. This invasion at once made trouble, which resulted in Spain's selling all of Florida to the United States in 1819. The United States paid Spain five million dollars for Florida and gave up all claim to Texas.

176. The Monroe Doctrine.⁵⁵ (a) *The Holy Alliance.*—In 1815 Europe completely defeated Napoleon, forced him to leave France as a prisoner, and restored the old line of kings to the French throne. During this same year the leading nations of Europe, with the exception of England, formed what they called the Holy Alliance. The French Revolution had greatly alarmed the kings and emperors of the various nations of Europe, and

this Holy Alliance was an agreement made by these monarchs to assist one another in case the people of a nation ruled by any, one of them attempted to revolt or to secure more power in making laws and controlling the government. Among the first acts of the Holy Alliance was the forcible suppression of liberal government in Spain and the making of the Spanish king an absolute monarch. This was done in 1822. Between 1810 and 1822 all of the Spanish-American colonies in North and South America, taking advantage of the weakened condition of Spain, threw off Spanish authority and established independent republics. These republics included Mexico and all of South America save Brazil, which still belonged to Portugal. After the Holy Alliance had made the king of Spain an absolute monarch, he asked it to help him regain his control over these Spanish-American republics.

(b) *American and English Opposition to the Holy Alliance.*—Both the English and the American people were opposed to this, and the British government proposed to the government of the United



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States that they combine against the intended action of the Holy Alliance. The United States government declined to act in concert with Great Britain, but it soon formally recognized the independence of all these Spanish-American republics. A short time before this the Czar of Russia had issued a decree claiming all the Pacific coast of North America from Alaska down to the 51st parallel, and forbidding foreign vessels to approach within one hundred miles of the shore. It was Russia's evident intention to extend her influence southward

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and to shut out the United States from the Pacific coast. This action of Russia made it look very much as though the Holy Alliance had made a deliberate plan to secure as much territory in the New World as possible.

(c) *The Monroe Doctrine Enunciated.*—The question at once became very important to the United States. In 1822 John Quincy Adams, who was then Secretary of State, made a strong protest to Russia against her action on the Pacific coast, and stated that the nations of Europe had no right to plant any more colonies in either North or South America. Then followed the proposal of the Holy Alliance to assist Spain to subdue her Spanish-American colonies. After careful consideration Adams prepared a statement that gave the position he thought the United States should assume in regard to the entire matter. In December, 1823, President Monroe, in his annual message to Congress, made the statement prepared by Adams a part of his message. This statement has ever since been known as the Monroe Doctrine, and in substance is as follows:—

1. European nations will not be permitted to establish any new colonies in America or to add any more territory to those already existing.
2. European nations will not be permitted to interfere with the internal affairs of American republics.

177. End of the Period of European Interference.—The statement of the Monroe Doctrine in the President's message brought this period to an end. England at once gave the other leading nations of Europe to understand that in so far as the Spanish-American republics were concerned, she would help the United States enforce the Monroe Doctrine. The firm attitude of the American government, and the quiet support of that attitude by the English government, caused the Holy Alliance to give up all its plans regarding America. In 1824 Russia made a treaty with the United States that fixed the parallel 54° 40' as the southern boundary of Russian territory on the Pacific coast. Never since has the United States permitted any European nation to secure additional territory in either North or South America. As has already been seen, the United States in 1793, under the firm and wise direction of Washington, estab-

lished the great principle of American neutrality in European affairs. After Europe had interfered in the affairs of the United States for more than thirty years, driving her to war with England and almost to war with France, Monroe, by his annual message in 1823, established the doctrine of non-interference by Europe in American affairs. Thus after a long struggle the United States rid herself of European interference, and the American people could now devote all their efforts to the great home problems then just beginning to press to the front.



ROOM IN WHICH CONGRESS MET IN PHILADELPHIA, 1791

The first Congress met in New York City

FINANCIAL LEGISLATION: THE TARIFF

178. Hamilton's Financial Measures:⁵⁶ (a) *Financial Conditions in 1789.*—In the history of the United States, during the period that intervened between the first election of Washington as President and about 1828, the question next in importance to that of European interference was the financial, or money question. As has already been seen, the condition of money and business during the Critical Period was very bad indeed, and

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was one of the main causes that brought about the adoption of the new Constitution. When the new government was organized, the credit of the national government was almost worthless, both at home and in Europe. In London, which was the center of the world's money market, a dollar's worth of United States bonds could not be sold for twenty-five cents. The national treasury was empty, and the national debt was about fifty-four million dollars. These were the financial conditions that the new government had to face, and they were certainly very



EARLY VIEW OF THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON

After a print published in 1825

serious. Before Washington took the oath of office, Congress began to try to better these conditions. In order to secure money to pay the immediate expenses of the government, it soon passed a bill that imposed a small tax or duty on certain kinds of goods brought into the United States from foreign countries. Washington signed this bill soon after he was inaugurated, and thus went into effect the first tariff law of the United States.

(b) *Nature of Hamilton's Measures.*—This tariff bill was but a temporary measure, however, and it was for Hamilton, whom Washington appointed the first Secretary of the Treasury, to

propose definite plans for placing the money affairs of the government and nation on a firm and safe basis. Hamilton had rendered a great service to the United States in his able fight for the ratification of the Constitution, and he was now about to render another great service to his country by solving the complex question of its finances in a most thorough and satisfactory manner. The complete plan that he submitted to Congress consisted of five parts. The plan is known as Hamilton's Financial Measures, and was as follows:—

1. *A slight increase in the duties laid by the first tariff.*
2. *An excise or internal tax to be placed on distilled liquors.*

This law provided that a tax must be paid on whisky made in the United States and placed on the market for sale.

3. The third part of Hamilton's plan is known as the *funding of the national debt*. By funding is meant that Hamilton proposed that the government should take up all the old bonds of the United States and all the certificates or receipts that had been given instead of money to many of the old soldiers for their services and to many of those who had furnished supplies to the army during the Revolution. The holders of bonds and certificates of the government were to receive in their place new United States bonds, which were to bear a certain rate of interest until paid. Many of the old bonds and certificates were not then held by those who had first received them, and many of those in whose possession they then were had not paid for them more than twenty-five cents on the dollar—that is, one man would buy from another one hundred dollars' worth of bonds for twenty-five dollars. In order to carry out the promise of the old government, Hamilton proposed that the new bonds issued should be for the full face value of the old bonds and certificates. This meant that a person who held a hundred dollars' worth of old bonds or certificates, for which he may have paid but twenty-five dollars, would receive a hundred dollars' worth of new bonds for which the government would finally pay him one hundred dollars, and pay him interest on this amount until it was settled.

4. The fourth part of Hamilton's plan is known as the *assumption of state debts*. By the assumption of state debts is meant that Hamilton proposed that the national government should pay all the debts incurred by the various states in support of the Revolution.
5. The fifth part of Hamilton's plan proposed the *establishment of a United States Bank*. This bank was to have a capital of ten million dollars—that is, it could offer for sale ten million dollars' worth of shares. A person who bought five hundred dollars' worth of these shares, for instance, would own that amount of interest in the bank and would receive his proportion of whatever profits the bank might make. The bank was to be managed by private individuals, but the government was to own two million dollars' worth of the shares and was to have the right to examine into its condition at any time in order to be sure that it was being conducted honestly. The bank was to have the right to establish branch banks in various cities and in different parts of the United States. The government was to have the right to deposit the public money in the proposed United States Bank and its branch banks, and could use these banks for collecting taxes and paying out money. Hamilton's object in establishing the bank was to enable the government to manage its financial affairs more easily, and to give stability throughout the nation to money and business matters.

(c) *Success of Hamilton's Measures*.—Some of Hamilton's financial measures met with strong opposition in Congress, but that body finally adopted them, and they were all signed by the President. The result of his measures was better than Hamilton himself dared hope. The credit of the United States was firmly established both at home and abroad. It was not long before a dollar's worth of United States bonds was worth a dollar in gold in London, whereas before this a dollar's worth of these bonds was worth less than twenty-five cents. One of the main objects that Hamilton had in view when he prepared his financial measures was to strengthen the national government in the minds of the people. The assumption of state debts, the

United States Bank and the internal tax on whisky had a splendid effect in this respect. All these things caused the people to look more to the national government, and less to the state government.

(d) *Whisky Rebellion.*—The tax on whisky met with some opposition in some parts of the country. In western Pennsylvania some of the people refused to pay this tax, and armed themselves for the purpose of resisting the federal officers, whose duty it was to collect it. This uprising is known as the Whisky Rebellion. Washington decided to compel the people of western Pennsylvania to obey the law, and for this purpose called upon the governors of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia to furnish soldiers. Soon an army of fifteen thousand was marching through Pennsylvania, but before it reached the western



part of the state the men who had gathered for the purpose of resisting the national government decided that it would be best to obey the law, and went home. The firm stand of Washington in this matter caused the power of the national government to be impressed on the minds of the people in all parts of the country. Thus Hamilton's financial plan proved a success in almost every respect, and he fully deserves to be honored as one of the greatest financiers America has produced.

179. Jefferson and Gallatin's Financial Measures.—Under the administrations of Washington and Adams the income of the national government had increased from less than three million dollars in 1789 to almost eleven million dollars in 1800. But the expenses of the government had increased faster than its income, and when Jefferson became President in 1800, the national debt amounted to almost eighty-three million dollars. Jefferson's policy was to reduce the expenses of the government so as to reduce the taxes, and at the same time pay off the national debt. He appointed Gallatin Secretary of the Treasury, and the latter formed plans for carrying out the financial ideas of Jefferson. Although the internal taxes were repealed, the annual income of the government increased. This was due to the increase in the volume of imported goods, which gave the government more money from the tariff taxes. Jefferson at the same time was reducing expenses in nearly all the departments of government. By 1808 the national debt had been reduced to forty-five million dollars, and Louisiana had been paid for. This was certainly a good record from a purely financial point of view, but part of the policy that secured it was much worse for the nation than a larger debt would have been.

The great increase in the expenses of the government during the administration of Washington and Adams had been for the army and navy, and especially for the navy. Jefferson made his principal reduction in expenses by reducing the army one-half, and the navy from twenty-seven ships in commission for service to seven, and by stopping all construction of new vessels. This was done during the time that the United States was being insulted and humiliated by both France and England. When the war with England did come, the nation suffered one defeat after another, largely because of the reduction and neglect of the army and navy during the two administrations of Jefferson and the first administration of Madison.

180. The United States Bank and State Banks.—At the close of the War of 1812 the national debt had increased to almost one hundred and thirty million dollars, and the financial affairs of the nation were in a bad condition. To some extent this was due to the fact that the United States did not have a tried and

solid financial system during the war, when it was most needed. The charter of the bank expired in 1811, and Congress refused to renew it. This action of Congress was due to several conditions. When the bank was chartered in 1791, there were only four state banks in existence; when the charter expired in 1811, there were eighty-eight of these state banks in existence, and during the next three years the number had more than doubled. The state banks, as a rule, were opposed to the United States Bank, because they hoped to secure its business and the government deposits. Some of the states were interested in some of their banks in the way that the national government was interested in the United States Bank, and for this and other reasons several of the state legislatures passed resolutions against renewing the charter of the United States Bank. Many were opposed to renewing the charter because they feared the bank's influence as a monopoly, and also as a corrupt factor in politics. But the financial affairs of the nation became so bad after the war that Congress, in 1816, in spite of all opposition, renewed the charter of the United States Bank for a period of twenty years. The next attack on the bank was made by Jackson when he became President.

181. Tariff Legislation:⁵⁷ (a) *First Tariff Act in the United States.*—A tariff as used in connection with national legislation in the United States is a tax or duty that must be paid on goods brought into the country from other countries. Congress is the only body in the United States that has the power to levy such taxes. One of the main objects of a tariff is to obtain the money required to meet the expenses of government and to pay off the national debt. Another object is to protect home industries. Many believe that tariff should be so levied as to protect the manufacturing and agricultural interests of the country. This means that a tariff should be levied on all kinds of goods that can be produced in the United States in quantities large enough or nearly large enough to supply the home demand, so as to secure a better home market for home products and thus increase home production. On the other hand, many believe that a protective tariff raises the price of goods, and benefits only those who produce the articles on

which an import duty is levied. These believe, therefore, that a tariff should be levied for the purpose of revenue only, and that, as a rule, it should be levied on such articles as are used by the wealthier classes. The tariff question has always been an important question in the United States. As already noted, Congress enacted the first tariff law in 1789. The main object of this first tariff law was to secure revenue for the new government, but during the debate the protective principle was briefly discussed, and the law was protective in a small measure.

(b) *Growth of the Idea of Protection.*—Up to the year 1816 there was very little change in the tariff policy of the United States. While the duties were changed, and in many cases increased from time to time, the principle of tariff for revenue



FIRST MILL IN OHIO

chiefly remained the same. The War of 1812, however, had aided the growth and development of American manufactures, and their protection and encouragement by the government became a question of more and more importance. This led to the adoption of a tariff law in 1816, that had for its express purpose the protection of American industries. This principle was established still more firmly by the passage in 1824 of a still higher protective tariff. There was practically no opposition to the tariff policy of the government up to the adoption of the principle of protection. Even in 1816 the opposition was not strong, and the South, acting on the advice of Calhoun, gave the principle of protection its cordial support. But the opposition to the tariff for the protection of home industries soon began to grow, and especially was this true in the South.

In the northern states, especially in New England where the growth of manufactures was becoming more and more rapid, the people, as a rule, were in favor of the protective principle, but those in New England who were engaged in commerce strongly opposed it. In the South the opposition became stronger and stronger. The South had remained almost entirely agricultural, and had developed no manufacturing interests of importance. The southern people, therefore, thought that they had nothing to gain from the principle of protection. As will be seen later, the opposition of the South very nearly led to serious results during Jackson's first administration.

POLITICAL PARTIES "

182. Rise of Political Parties.—During nearly all the time since the foundation of the government to the present, there have been two great political parties in the United States. The people have been divided into different parties because they have had different ideas about things that affect the growth and welfare of the nation. If the people all had the same ideas about such questions, there would be but one political party, although there might be two or more men running for the same office. In the latter case, however, the division would be based on personal liking, and not on a difference of opinion regarding questions and great principles that affect the welfare of the nation. It is well for the people to have different opinions about public questions, and to organize themselves into political parties for the purpose of controlling legislation and carrying out their opinions by making laws. The active public discussion of great public questions, which is caused by the contest between the different parties, tends to lead to the truth, educates the people, and better prepares them for the duties and responsibilities of self-government.

The first great question that caused the people of the United States to divide into political parties was the difference of opinion regarding the nature of the new government. Section 8 of Article I of the Constitution, after stating the specific powers of Congress, says Congress shall have power "To make

all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof." Many believed that this clause should be loosely construed; that is, it should be taken to mean that the new government should exercise not only the powers specifically granted to it by the Constitution, but that it should assume such implied powers as may be necessary or even expedient in carrying out those powers specifically given to it. For instance: the Constitution does not say that Congress has the power to establish a United States Bank, but Hamilton insisted that this power was implied by the clause given above, because such a bank would assist in carrying out the power of taxation—a power that the Constitution specifically gives to Congress. Those who believed in this loose construction of the Constitution wished to centralize the government, and believed that it should be controlled by the well-born, well-educated and wealthier classes. There were many, however, who did not believe that the Constitution should be thus loosely construed, or that the government should be controlled by the upper classes. They believed that Congress should exercise only such implied powers as are absolutely necessary to carry out the powers specifically given to it. They maintained, for instance, that the power of Congress to establish the United States Bank is not implied in the Constitution. They did not believe that the government should be centralized. They had faith in the common people, and believed that the affairs of government could be safely intrusted to them. As stated above, this difference of opinion as to how the Constitution should be interpreted caused the first division of the people into political parties. Up to the time of the American Civil War it was one of the great political questions, and was almost constantly before the American people. The exact nature of the powers that belong to the national government is still an important question, and will remain one as long as the Constitution is in force; but since the Civil War it has not been an important political question in the sense in which it was before that time.

183. The Federalist Party; Its Rise and Fall.—Those who believed that the Constitution should be loosely construed, and that the government should be centralized and controlled by the upper classes, formed themselves into what is known as the Federalist party. Among the leaders of this party were Washington, Hamilton and John Adams. The Federalist party had control of the national government for twelve years. Washington and John Adams were the Federalist Presidents, Washington's term lasting from 1789 to March 4, 1797, and Adams' term from the latter date to March 4, 1801. To that



WASHINGTON DELIVERING HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS, NEW YORK,
APRIL 30, 1789

party must be given the credit of organizing the government upon a sound and safe, but not radical basis. This was a great and very important work, among its more important features being the establishment of the principle of American neutrality in European affairs, and the inauguration of Hamilton's financial measures that resulted in firmly establishing the financial credit of the nation. The common sense and good judgment of Washington, and the confidence of the people in his ability and patriotism, caused the new government to become strong from the first, and to win the support of the masses of the people.

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But while the Federalist party accomplished a great work, it was doomed by its very make-up to early destruction. The Federalist leaders, though extremely patriotic, were naturally aristocratic. In addition to believing that the government should be controlled by the upper classes, they desired to introduce some of the forms and ceremonies of the English government. In his official work and intercourse, Washington insisted that a certain amount of etiquette and ceremony be



FRANKLIN AT THE COURT OF FRANCE

Franklin was one of the ablest ministers the United States ever sent to Europe. He was a great favorite with the French people

strictly observed. When Congress was not in session, he frequently traveled through the country in a style very much as a king might have traveled. The people loved Washington because he had devoted his life, in a very unselfish way, to the service of his country, and the value of his work to the nation had been much greater than that of any other man. But the ideals and ceremonies of the Federalist party were out of harmony with the rising democratic spirit of the republic. The chief cause of the fall of the party was its theory of government

by the leaders, instead of by the masses. As this theory was not in harmony with growing democratic ideas, it made the fall of the party permanent. The passage of the Alien and Sedition Laws was an attempt to stop the public expression of these ideas, and this so aroused the people that at the election for President in 1800, they elected Jefferson, who was leader of the Anti-Federalist party. The opposition of the Federalists to the War of 1812 and their action in the Hartford convention were the deathblow to their party, which had already fallen into popular disfavor for the reasons given above.

184. The Republican Party;

Its Rise and Fall.—During the first administration of Washington, those who believed in a strict construction of the Constitution, and that the government should not be centralized nor controlled by the upper classes, gradually formed themselves into what is known as the Anti-Federalist or Republican party. Among the leaders of this party were Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. The Republican party made no attempt to defeat Washington. He received every vote at the first two elections for President, and could have been elected a third time had he not positively refused to be a candidate.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

When the Federalists had control of the government, the leaders of the Republican party claimed that the Federalist party was assuming more powers than were granted the national government by the Constitution, and that the states were being deprived of their rights. The Republicans did not believe in so much etiquette and so many ceremonies in connection with the government. They believed that everything should be more democratic, and that the national government should be careful

to do nothing that the Constitution did not plainly give it the right to do. The Republican party carried the election for President in the autumn of 1800, and had control of the national government from March, 1801, to March, 1829. Jefferson, the leader of the Republican party, was President for two terms, 1801 to 1809. He was followed by Madison, 1809 to 1817. Monroe, who was President from 1817 to 1825, was a Republican in name, but his administration was noted for an almost total lack of party feeling, so much so that the period covered by his two terms is often called the "Era of Good Feeling." John Quincy Adams was the fourth of the Republican Presidents, 1825 to 1829. During his administration the party broke up into personal factions. It is almost true to say that it did that at the end of Monroe's second administration. In the bitter personal fight for President in the autumn of 1828, Jackson was successful, and during his administration two new parties were organized—the Whig party and the Democratic party. These two parties will be discussed under that period of our history, extending from 1828 to 1860.

The Republican party defeated the Federalist party and secured control of the government on the strength of promises that involved two general principles. One was that it would abolish the aristocratic etiquette and ceremonies that the Federalist party had introduced in connection with the official work of the government. The other was that it would restrict the power of the government to those things plainly stated in the Constitution. The promises involving the first principle were carried out by the Republicans. Many of the ceremonies introduced by the Federalists were abolished, and the manner of carrying on the government became more democratic, and has remained so ever since. The second promise made by the Republicans was not kept at all. In fact, they gave a much looser construction to the Constitution than the Federalists ever dared to give. The purchase of Louisiana and the Embargo Act and the Enforcement Act went far beyond anything the Federalists had ever done along this line. It is very doubtful, to say the least, whether some things done by the national government during Jefferson's and Madison's administrations

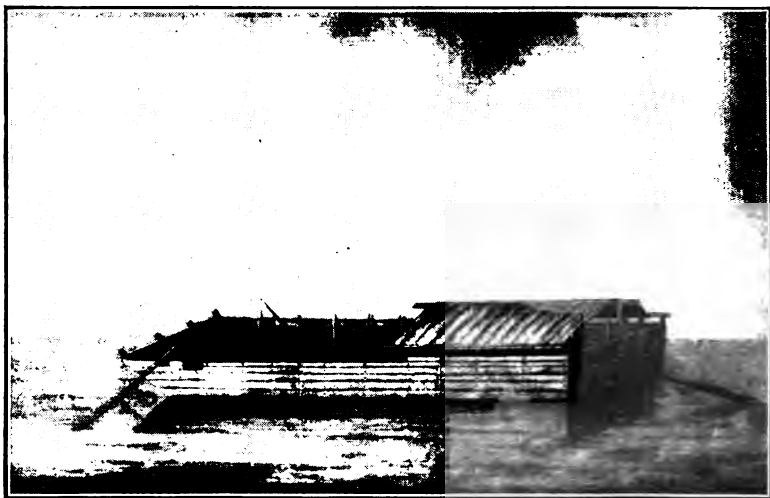
were not a little beyond the powers granted it by the Constitution. The Federalists were now claiming that the Republicans were giving too loose a construction to the Constitution. The Hartford convention was a protest against this, as the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were a protest against the action of the Federalist party in this respect. It is interesting to note that ever since then the party not in power has made this same charge against the party in power.

GROWTH OF THE NATION*

185. Growth in Territory and Population.—At the close of the Revolution, in 1783, the territory of the United States extended from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from Canada to Florida. Of all this vast area of over eight hundred thousand square miles, less than three hundred thousand were occupied and settled, and of the three million inhabitants, the great mass lived east of the Appalachian Mountains. At the end of the Period of National Growth and European Interference the area of the United States had increased—through the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory in 1803 and of Florida in 1819—to more than two million square miles, of which six hundred thousand were settled. The population had reached nearly twelve millions, the increase in the West being much more rapid than in the East. Thus in 1828 the territory of the nation was about two and one-half times greater than at the close of the Revolution, and the population was about four times greater.

186. Movement of Population; Causes and Direction.—About the time of the French and Indian War, settlers began to move westward in search of new homes, chiefly along the Ohio. At the close of the Revolution the number of people leaving the original thirteen states along the Atlantic seaboard, and settling in the country between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River, began to increase rapidly. This was due to several causes. Most of this western land was cheap, fertile and well watered, and many men, therefore, welcomed the chance to build up homes and fortunes in this new country.

The government had given portions of this rich land to many of the soldiers of the Revolution in payment for their services during the war. The bad condition of business during the Critical Period was a strong factor in causing many people to leave their old homes and seek new homes in the West. It has always been true in the history of the United States that when there were hard times in the East, with lack of business and scarcity of money, there has been a rush of settlers westward. All these causes led to the rapid settling of the West.



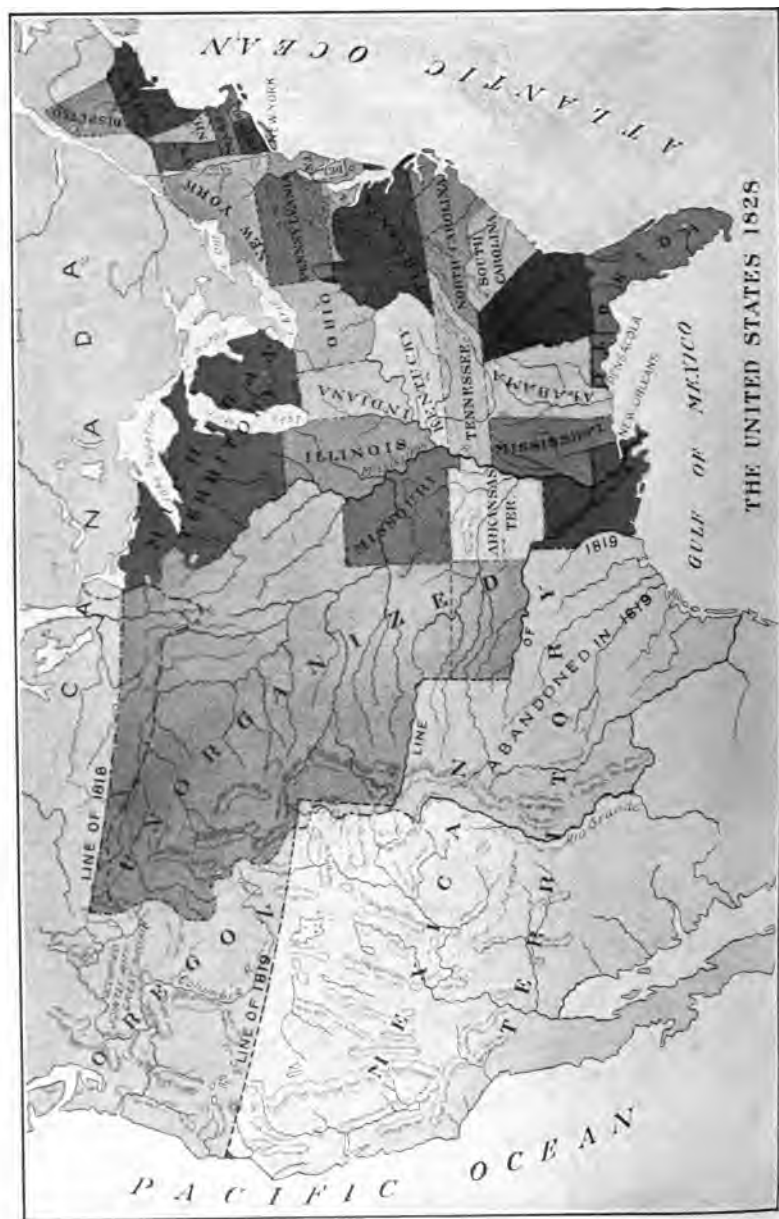
EMIGRANT BOAT IN WHICH THE PIONEERS WENT FROM PITTSBURG TO
KENTUCKY

It is very important to note that this migration of the people was along two different courses, which ran westward in parallel lines from the northern and southern sections of the country that bordered on the Atlantic. Those who went West from Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia generally settled in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Missouri, and later in Arkansas and Texas; those who went West from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York and New England settled chiefly in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan, and later in Kansas, Iowa

and Nebraska. The settlers from each section of the eastern states carried with them their industrial and social customs. Thus in the southern part of the western territory the same industrial and social conditions prevailed as in the southern Atlantic states, and slavery became established with the settlement of the country, while in the northern part of the western country the same industrial and social conditions prevailed as in the northern Atlantic states, and slavery therefore was not established. In the southern part of the western country, as in the southern part of the eastern country, the topography, climate and soil tended to make slave labor profitable; while in the northern part of the western country, the same as in the northern part of the eastern country, topography, climate and soil tended to make slave labor unprofitable.

187. Results of Westward Expansion:⁶⁰ (a) *Formation of New States.*—In the organization of all the western territory the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 were followed in many respects. The rapid settlement of the western lands soon led to the formation of new states, in accordance with the provisions of this ordinance. The first state carved out of this western country was Kentucky. By 1828 eleven new states had been added to the original thirteen, nine of them being in the Mississippi Valley. Thus the influence of the West had become an important factor in national affairs, and was rapidly becoming a still more important factor. In character the constitutions of the western states were much more democratic than those of the eastern states. This was due largely to the conditions of frontier life, which tended to put men on an equal footing with one another, and to compel them to rely on their own efforts.

(b) *Internal Improvements: Cumberland Road, Erie Canal.*—The rapid growth of the West and the great increase in the volume of its commerce made it necessary and profitable for both the East and the West to open up highways between the two sections. A large part of the foreign commerce of the West was carried on by way of the Mississippi, but the overland commerce between the East and the West was also very important. The question of building roads, bridges and canals



and improving rivers by the aid of the national government was early taken up by Congress, and became to some extent a political issue. The first work of this kind undertaken by the government was the building of the Cumberland Road between the Ohio and the Potomac rivers. Although internal improvements of this nature were constantly discussed, nothing more was done by the national government during this period. Some of the states, however, took up the work. New York completed the Erie Canal in 1825, and this great highway soon became



THE ERIE CANAL

an important factor in building up the commerce of the nation as well as that of the state. Other states also built important canals, roads and bridges.

(c) *Struggle over Slavery; The Missouri Compromise.*—The settlement of the West led to the first struggle over slavery. The Ordinance of 1787 forever prohibited slavery in the Northwest Territory, which included the present states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. But there was no national legislation on the question of slavery in the territory south of the Ohio between the Mississippi and the southern Atlantic states, nor in the Louisiana Territory, until the passage of the Missouri Compromise. In the western territory south of

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the Ohio the people of each state were permitted to settle the question for themselves. As the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana were settled by people from the slave-holding states of the East, they also were slave-holding states. Alabama, which was the last of this group of five states to come into the Union, was admitted in 1819. As Florida was certain to be a slave state, the question of slavery in all the country east of the Mississippi, and in all that part of the state of Louisiana west of that river, was settled for the time being at least. But the question of slavery in the Louisiana Territory, except that part included in the state of Louisiana, was not



CINCINNATI IN 1810

settled. The territory of Missouri was west of the Mississippi, and was a part of the Louisiana Territory. When Missouri, in 1818, applied for admission into the Union, it became necessary for Congress to decide whether or not slavery should be permitted to extend into the Louisiana Territory. This caused the first struggle over slavery since the organization of the new government. Slavery had existed in all the states, but the fact that slaves could not be used with much profit in the North brought about the gradual abolition of slavery in New England and in nearly all the middle states. The fact that the northern people were not accustomed to slavery helped to cause a moral sentiment to grow up slowly in the North against it. In the

South, on the other hand, slavery had been found still more profitable, had increased, and had become more firmly rooted in the industrial and social conditions than ever. Under all these circumstances the extension of slavery into the territory of Louisiana became a question of great interest to the entire nation. The whole question was settled by a compromise, which is known as the Missouri Compromise.

This compromise had its origin in the desire of the slave-holding states to prevent those states in which slavery did not exist from securing control of the United States Senate. The northern states, having a larger population than the southern states, would always have a majority in the House of Representatives. The southern states, knowing this, were determined to control as many votes in the Senate as the northern states, and thus be in a position to prevent any legislation hostile to slavery. In order to be able to do this, a slave state must be admitted into the Union with every free state. Up to 1818 this plan had been followed carefully, and of the twenty-two states then forming the Union, eleven were free and eleven were slave. To preserve this balance required that the territory included in the Louisiana Purchase should be half slave and half free. The North was determined that slavery should not be permitted



HUNTERS AND TRAPPERS

to exist in any of this territory, and the South was determined that it should. When Missouri applied for admission to the Union, her constitution said nothing about slavery, but it was almost certain that she would be a slave state. Her application for admission caused angry discussions in Congress and among the people generally throughout the nation. The House of Representatives would not permit Missouri to enter as a slave state, and the Senate would not allow slavery to be prohibited. In 1820 Maine applied for admission to the Union as a free state. The Senate, in which the South had as many votes as the North, would not consent to the admission of Maine unless Missouri was also allowed to enter. The question was compromised as follows:—

1. Maine should be admitted as a free state and Missouri as a slave state.
2. The Louisiana Purchase should be divided by the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$, and in all territory north of this line, excepting Missouri, slavery should be forever prohibited.

The Missouri Compromise settled the slavery question for the time being. It was thought by many that it settled the question finally; but because of the acquisition of new territory, and because of the difference in the industrial and social conditions of the North and South, compromise measures could result only in postponing for some years the final conflict.

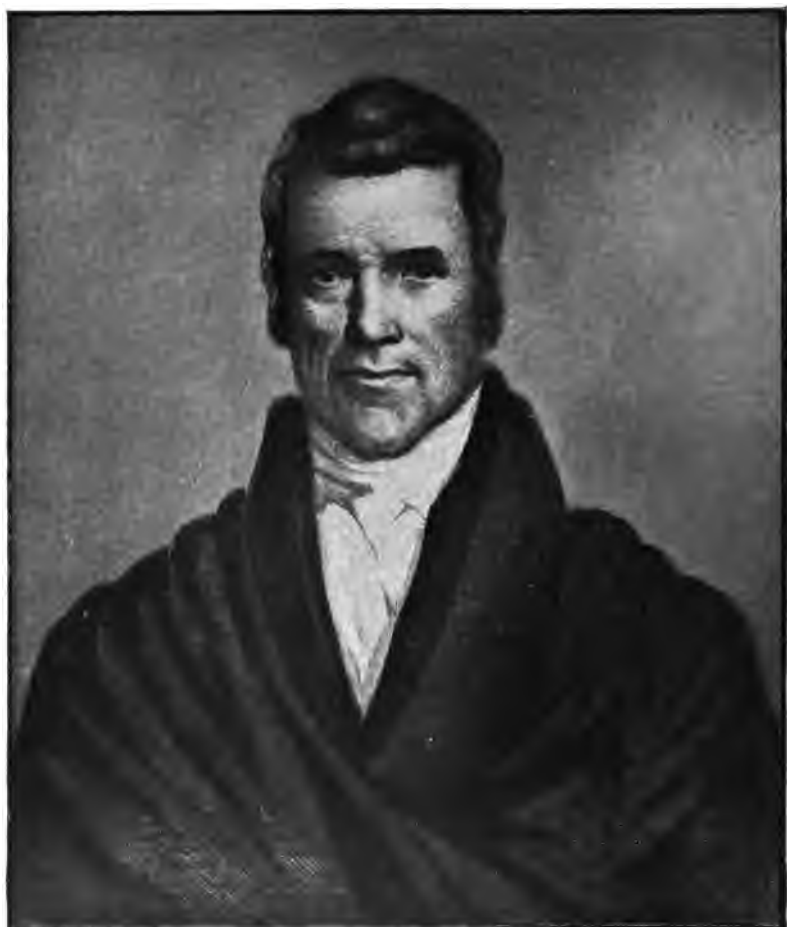
188. Growth of National Unity.—At the end of this period, in 1828, the nation as a whole was much more united than at the beginning of the period in 1789, when the Constitution went into effect. This uniting or nationalizing of the nation was caused by several things. The constant interference with American affairs by Europe during the first part of this period tended to unite the people. In spite of the opposition of the Federalists, the War of 1812 developed a strong feeling of national unity among the American people. It caused them to feel independent of Europe, and to put aside and forget many of the customs and conditions which had survived since colonial times. All this left the nation united and in a condition to develop a true national life. The purchase of Louisiana and Florida also tended toward national unity. In the purchase

and government of this territory Congress was forced to make a loose construction of the Constitution, and as the Republican party was then in power, that party became the champion of the nationalizing policy to which it was so strongly opposed when the Federalists had control of the government. As the Republican party was in power from 1801 to 1829, its work in advancing the nationalizing policy was of great importance. That which had the most to do in advancing the growth of national unity, perhaps, was the rapid growth of the West. The men who settled this new country did so under the protection and government of the nation, and not of the states. The states in which they lived had been made states by the national government, and in their minds, therefore, the state would be subordinate to the nation.

Another thing that caused the growth of national unity was a series of important decisions made by the Supreme Court of the United States. These decisions established more firmly the authority of the national government, and in many cases specifically defined the limits of the state governments. Among the more important of these decisions were:—

1. *McCulloch vs. Maryland*. In this case the state of Maryland attempted to tax the United States Bank; but the Supreme Court held that the bank could not be thus taxed, because it was in part a national institution.
2. *Fletcher vs. Peck*. In this case the court held that the state of Georgia could not revoke grants of land even if they had been obtained by fraud, because such action on the part of the state would be a violation of contract, which the national Constitution says shall not be impaired.
3. *Dartmouth College Case*. In this case New Hampshire attempted to modify the charter of Dartmouth College. The court held that this could not be done, because the effect would be to impair the obligation of a contract and the modification would therefore be a violation of the Constitution.

The chief influence working against the growth of national unity, as a whole, was slavery. While not an active factor during this period, it was surely though slowly undermining



CHIEF JUSTICE: JOHN MARSHALL

from the portrait by JARVIS owned by Justice GRAY.

Marshall was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court 1801 to 1835.

His interpretation of the Constitution defined the scope and nature of the National Government.

the unity of the nation by causing the North and the South to develop industrially and socially along different lines. Thus different interests sprang up in the two sections, and the conditions that caused the conflict of the following period were beginning to shape themselves definitely. The attitude of the two sections of the country, and the strength of slavery in the South, are shown in the Missouri Compromise, which was the first struggle of the long conflict that came to dominate all questions and to threaten the existence of the nation, and that was ended only by a long and bloody civil war.

INSTITUTIONAL LIFE "

189. Introductory.—The five institutions or organizations that exist among the people of every nation, state, city and community are: business, or industrial life; society, or social life; the state, or government; the church, or religion; and the school, or education. These five institutions, in one form or another, may always be found, even among savages. All that any community, or its individuals, can think or do, must be thought or done along one or more of these lines. They include the entire life and work of every person and community.

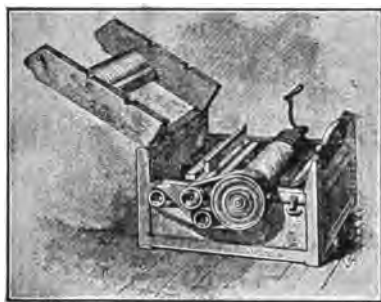
During the period from the close of the Revolution to 1828, institutional life in the United States was gradually changing from colonial conditions. The industrial growth of the nation along a number of important lines was very great. This is seen in the rise of manufactures in the New England and the middle states; in the South settling down to even a more strictly agricultural basis; in the great development of commerce between the East and the West; in the marked improvement in means of transportation and communication that this commerce helped to bring about; and in the many valuable inventions. In the institutions of social life and government there was a marked growth toward democracy. The aristocratic forms, ceremonies and distinctions based on class were gradually dying out except in the South. In religious matters a much more liberal spirit gradually developed and there was a distinct improvement along educational lines during the latter part of this period.

190. Manufactures: (a) *Condition Until About 1800.*—During colonial times there were many sawmills and gristmills in the New England and the middle states. There were also in these northern states many articles of common use made or manufactured by the family. This is sometimes called household manufacturing. Among the articles thus made were household utensils, clothing and farming implements. Many small shops were also devoted to making these things. In Pennsylvania considerable iron ore was mined, made into pig iron and exported. The people of the South did not make articles of common use, as did the people of the North, but imported nearly all the manufactured goods consumed. From all this it will be seen that at the time of the Revolution the South had no manufactures at all, and that while in New England there were a large number of things made in many small shops, there were no large manufacturing establishments. Up to about the year 1800 there had been but very little increase in manufacturing in the United States; but there was soon to be a decided improvement along this line. The embargo policy of Jefferson and the War of 1812 prevented the importation of manufactured goods. This condition of things caused the Americans to engage in manufacturing, and by 1816 a complete change had taken place in this industry.

(b) *Influence of New Weaving Machinery; The Cotton Gin.*—The increase in the manufacture of cotton goods was especially rapid, and a great increase in the manufacture of woolen goods soon followed, all of which was due largely to the inventions in England of spinning and weaving machinery. These valuable inventions had been made by Hargreaves, Arkwright, Crompton and Cartwright, between 1767 and 1785. Improved machinery made the manufacture of clothing much faster, easier and cheaper, and induced many men in England and America to invest their money in this industry. The great difficulty about 1790 was to get cotton enough to supply this new machinery. It required so much time and labor to separate the cotton seed from the cotton fiber that the production of cotton in large quantities was very difficult. But this also was soon to be changed. In 1793 Eli Whitney, a New England schoolmaster

then living in Georgia, invented a little device or machine by the use of which one slave could separate as much cotton seed from the fiber in one day as about three hundred slaves could by the old method. This greatly increased the production of cotton in the South, and gave an ample supply for the new machinery, both in Europe and America.

The rapid growth of cotton and woolen manufactures in the United States from about 1805 to 1822 was due mainly, therefore, to the invention of new spinning and weaving machinery, and to the non-importation of manufactured goods from Europe, the European goods being kept out by the Embargo Acts, the War of 1812 and the protective tariff. There was also great advance during the latter part of this period in the manufacture of iron goods and in the manufacture of leather, glass and paper. In 1800 the amount of money invested in manufactures in the New England and the middle states was not large, and the number of people employed in this industry was small; but the advance was so rapid that by 1828 America produced manufactured goods worth about three hundred million dollars, and the number of those employed in factories had increased to more than one hundred and fifty thousand.



THE FIRST COTTON GIN

191. Agriculture.—While the North was thus devoting more and more of its time and capital to manufacture, the South and the great and rapidly growing West continued to devote nearly all their time to agriculture. The West would naturally do this, because as yet it was quite young and had had no chance to develop manufactures; but this was not true of the South, because it was as old as the North. This condition in the South was due to several things. In the first place, manual labor there was performed almost entirely by slaves, and slave labor could not be used with profit in manufacturing. As manual

labor was considered in the South rather plebeian and fit only for slaves, immigrants from Europe would not settle there, and thus that section was deprived of many skilled mechanics and much capital that would have been invested in manufactures.

(a) *Growth of Cotton Production.*—The invention of new spinning and weaving machinery that helped the growth of manufactures in the North had exactly the opposite effect in the South. This new machinery created an immense demand for cotton both in Europe and in the North. The production of cotton, therefore, became much more profitable to the South than ever before, and the invention of the cotton gin about this time made the very extensive production of cotton possible, and thus greatly increased the value of slave labor. All this tended to restrict the South to the production of cotton, and to establish the slavery system still more firmly. The southern planters put forth every effort to supply the demand for cotton and to secure the slaves necessary for its production. When Whitney invented the cotton gin in 1793, the South exported less than one-half million pounds of cotton; in 1828 she exported more than a hundred and sixty million pounds, for which she received about twenty-five million dollars. With such an immense demand for this product, with a soil and climate especially suited to its extensive production, and with the slavery system established as the result of the extensive production of tobacco, rice and indigo, it would have been surprising if the South had not turned its attention almost entirely to cotton raising. It was not long before it became a common saying in the South that "cotton is king." The sunny southern cotton fields have long been celebrated in poetry and song.

(b) *Other Leading Agricultural Products.*—While by 1828 cotton had become the one great staple of the South, large quantities of tobacco, rice and indigo continued to be raised there. Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina provided most of the tobacco. Most of the rice and indigo was produced south of Virginia. Maryland and Virginia raised much wheat for export. In the southern part of the West the same products were raised as in the southern Atlantic states, cotton being distinctly the leading crop. In the middle and northwestern states farm

products in great variety were raised, and this was also true in the middle and northwestern states. In the matter of agriculture, the northern part of the West, therefore, was following the northern part of the East, and it was soon to follow it in the matter of manufactures.

192. Commerce and Transportation: (a) *Necessity for Better Transportation.*—It was but natural that the great increase in the production of manufactured goods, and the extensive production of cotton and of many other farm products should lead to a large increase in the commerce of the nation. This was true. The difficult question was to find some means by which a part of the immense quantities of farm products

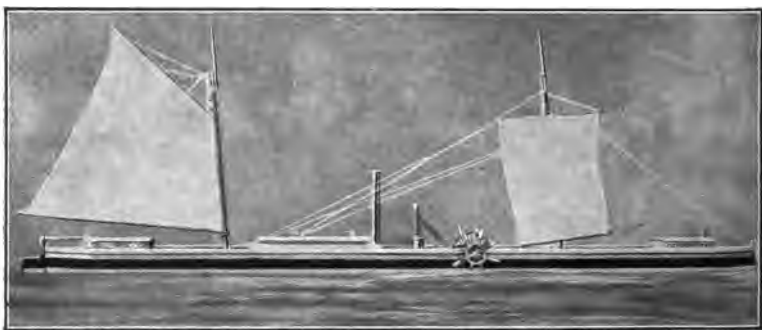


STAGECOACH OF 1828

that were being raised in the middle and northern West could be sent to the eastern states, and some means by which the manufactured goods that were being made in the factories of the northern Atlantic states could be sent to the West. While the East was becoming more and more in need of the farm products of the West, and the West was becoming more and more in need of the manufactured goods of the New England and the middle states, the Appalachian Mountains made it almost impossible to carry on commerce between the two sections.

Wagons could cross the mountains, but transportation of this kind over bad roads was too expensive. The products of the West could be floated down the Ohio and Mississippi to New

Orleans, but it was difficult to bring manufactured goods back against the swift streams. In addition to this hindrance, there was another side to the question of transportation. Unless a faster and cheaper way of transferring goods from one part of the country to another could be found, the East and West might develop along different lines, and this might in time destroy the unity of the nation. The whole question of transportation became, therefore, more and more serious as the West continued to develop. Fortunately for the United States, the problem of better means of transportation and communication has been solved in a very satisfactory manner.



THE *Clermont*, BUILT BY FULTON

First steamboat in the world to establish permanent traffic. This print differs from most of those given but it is an exact reproduction of the model of the *Clermont* in the National Museum at Washington

(b) *The Steamboat*.—The first great step toward the solution of this problem was the practical application of steam power to water transportation. In 1807 Robert Fulton succeeded in propelling, in a successful and practical manner, a boat on the Hudson by means of steam power. In a few years steamboats were in general use on the coast and on the inland rivers. Before steam was so applied a ship was propelled by wind power only; and therefore could not move unless a breeze or wind were blowing, and could not advance up a river very well against a strong current, even with the assistance of the wind. The steamboats could go almost anywhere on the water, and as a rule could make much better time than vessels propelled by the wind.

They could take the produce of the West down to New Orleans and could bring manufactured goods back, whereas the sail boat could not be used with success for going up the Mississippi and its tributaries against the strong currents.

(c) *Roads and Canals.*—There were other marked improvements made in the means of transportation during this period. The national government and several of the state governments took up the question of building roads and canals. The result was the construction of some excellent roads and canals. The Erie Canal, which connects the Hudson River and Lake Erie, was finished by the state of New York in 1825. This canal was of great value to commerce, especially to that of the northern part of the West. The building of steamboats, canals and good roads enabled the people in 1828 to travel about twice as fast as they could in 1800. It still required as long, however, to go from Boston to the city of Washington as it does at this time to go from Chicago to San Francisco. It is very likely that the canal and road construction that was going on about 1828 would have resulted in a still further great improvement in the means of transportation and communication between the East and the West. But soon after this time steam railroads began to be built, and during the period of Westward Expansion and Slavery, which ends in 1860, the means of transportation and communication were revolutionized. The discussion of this question will be continued at the close of the next period.

193. Inventions and Discoveries.—In addition to the invention of spinning and weaving machinery, the cotton gin and the steamboat, a number of other practical mechanical inventions were made during this period. But with the exception of those just named, most of the great inventions and discoveries that have so changed industrial and social conditions have been made since then. The threshing machine, the reaper, the sewing machine, the telegraph, the steam railroad, the coal-oil lamp, the gas light and many other valuable inventions and discoveries all came into use during the next period. Before 1825 the farmer cut his wheat with the hand sickle or scythe and threshed it with the flail or by tramping it out. The women did all their sewing with the needle, and the houses were lighted

with tallow candles. Scarcely any of the thousands of labor-saving machines now in general use and considered absolutely necessary, had been invented at that time. It is almost impossible for those now living to appreciate fully the changes that have taken place along these lines since 1828. The changes that have taken place since then in machinery and in means of transportation and communication are greater than during all the history of the world before that time.

194. Social Conditions: (a) *Class Distinction in the South.*—Between the close of the Revolution and the War of 1812 there was very little change in the dress and amusements of the people. The manners and customs of colonial times did not change greatly until the latter part of this period. In fact, it was not until the coming of the railroad that colonial manners and customs passed away. There was scarcely any change during this period in the social conditions of the South. There were four distinct classes in southern society, in the same way as in colonial times. The large slave-holders, who were usually the owners of large plantations, comprised the upper class. Next to this class came the middle class, which consisted of the smaller farmers and of those engaged in trade of one kind or another. Next to the middle class came the poor whites. The fourth class consisted of the large slave population. This continuation of sharp class distinction in the South was due to slavery and to the fact that the growth of democratic ideas had not taken place in the South except to a very limited extent.

(b) *Class Distinction in the North and West.*—In the North, on the other hand, democratic ideas had grown steadily; especially was this true of the western part of the North. The growth of these ideas tended strongly to break down class distinction. In the West, where one man was considered as good as another irrespective of his birth or wealth, class distinction scarcely existed at all. In the eastern part of the North the division of society into the three classes that existed in colonial times continued to exist until toward the latter part of this period, although by that time class distinctions were passing away rapidly. The West, with its liberal ideas and democratic manners and customs, had marked influence on the North,

especially on the middle states. The business intercourse between these states and the West was one cause of this. The election of Jackson was due largely to the influence of the West, and the triumph of Democratic ideas in his election brought about the rapid destruction of class distinctions in the North during the period of Westward Expansion and Slavery.

195. Government.—There was very little change in the institution of government during this period. The changes that took place in the national government consisted merely in the natural and rational development of the principles set forth in the Constitution. In local and state government the growth and modification were natural, and along the lines laid down during the preceding periods. The organization and government of the new territory acquired were based on the Ordinance of 1787. The new state governments were organized along the same lines as those formed during the Revolution, which in turn were based on the government of the colonies. The constitutions of the western states were more



JAMES FENIMORE COOPER

democratic than those of the older states, but nearly all the older states had amended their constitutions in this respect. In 1800 only about one person in thirty-five could vote, while by 1828 about one person in ten had this right. This change was due to the change in the constitutions and laws of the various states, which was brought about by the growth of democratic ideas. The growth of these ideas, which was especially rapid in the West, resulted in the election of Jackson as President in 1828, and, during the next period, in a further amendment of state constitutions along still more democratic lines.

196. Religion.—During this period the spirit of intolerance and persecution formerly prevailing in religious matters was broken down, and complete religious liberty was established. In most of the colonies, at the beginning of the Revolution, a man in order to hold an office or vote was required by law to have certain religious ideas. These religious qualifications were largely done away with during the Revolution, and church and state soon became completely separated in all the states. Many new religious denominations or sects came into existence, and national organizations of these various churches were formed.



197. Education.—For about twenty-five or thirty years after the beginning of the Revolution, education in the United States went backward. This was true with regard to the grammar school, the academy and the college. In addition to the schools of all grades becoming poorer and less attended, there were no great American writers during this time. About 1810 a change for the better began along educational and literary lines. Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper commenced writing about this time, and a little later William

Cullen Bryant began his literary work. In the latter part of this period the common school system began to be developed, and especially was this true in a number of the western states. Congress provided that at least one section out of every thirty-six sections of public land in the West should be set aside for the benefit of education. This wise and liberal policy was just beginning to have a good effect in building up schools, and since then it has become a mighty power in advancing free public education in the United States. Between



1815 and 1828 a large number of students began attending the colleges, and about 1825 Boston and some of the other eastern cities established high schools. All this indicates that toward the end of this period there began to be an improvement in common school, high school and college education. While this improvement continued slowly throughout all the next period, the real growth and development of the free public school system, including elementary schools, secondary schools, normal schools and universities, have taken place since the Civil War.

SUMMARY BY ADMINISTRATIONS

NOTE: The pupil should not be required to memorize the table given below; it is for reference only.

WASHINGTON 1789-1797

Hamilton's Financial Measures: Provided an income and established credit of United States

Effects of the French Revolution upon Affairs in the United States: France expected sympathy and assistance from the United States

The Genet Mission, 1793: Showed that neutrality was desirable

Neutrality Proclamation, 1793: Established the great American principle of non-interference in European affairs

Invention of the Cotton Gin, 1793: Increased growth of cotton and demand for slaves

Whisky Rebellion, 1794: Caused by opposition to internal taxes

The Jay Treaty with England, 1795: Not entirely satisfactory, but probably prevented a war with England

JOHN ADAMS 1797-1801

The X Y Z Affair, 1797-1798: Attempt to compel the United States to pay for peace and neutrality

Alien and Sedition Acts, 1798: Only attempt of national government to interfere with freedom of speech and liberty of the press

Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, 1798-1799: Protests against the Alien and Sedition Acts

Treaty with France, 1800: Settled disputes with France

Decline of the Federalist Party

JEFFERSON 1801-1809

Republican Principles: Opposed to forms and ceremonies

Excellent Condition of National Finances: Economy in government expenses and increased tariff revenue from expanding commerce

Louisiana Purchase, 1803: Added territory for new states and secured control of the Mississippi River

Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804: Discovered an outlet to the Pacific coast; helped to establish claims of United States to Oregon territory

First Steamboat Used, 1807: Of great importance to commerce
Decrees of France and Orders in Council of England, 1806-1810: Each tried to prevent neutral ships from trading with the other; American ships captured.
Impressment of American Seamen: Source of constant irritation between America and England
Embargo Policy, 1807-1809: American ships kept at home
Non-intercourse Act, March 1, 1809: Trade permitted with all nations except England and France

MADISON
1809-1817

New Members of Congress, 1811: Were determined to stop the insults offered the United States by England and France
War of 1812
Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814
Hartford Convention, 1814: Protested against the War of 1812; considered measures of resistance to the national government
United States Bank Rechartered, 1816: To assist in restoring the finances of the national government
Tariff Act of 1816: For the protection of home industries in addition to producing a revenue

MONROE
1817-1825

"Era of Good Feeling": Decline of the Federalists; all parties merged into one
Florida Purchase, 1819: United States secured Florida but gave up all claim to Texas
Missouri Compromise, 1820: First great contest over slavery; South wished to preserve a balance of power of the two sections in Congress
The Holy Alliance, 1815: Planned to put down free government and to restore South America to Spain
The Monroe Doctrine, 1823: Stated that European nations were not to secure more territory in America nor interfere with internal affairs of American republics
Breaking up of the Republican Party: Many candidates and new issues in the campaign of 1824

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
1825-1829

Erie Canal Completed, 1825: Of great value to commerce
"Tariff of Abominations," 1828: Highly protective; opposed by the South
Rise of the Popular Party: Resulted in the election of Jackson

AMERICA

My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing;
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the Pilgrims' pride,
From every mountain side
Let freedom ring.

My native country, thee,
Land of the noble free,
Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills;
My heart with rapture thrills
Like that above.

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees
Sweet freedom's song;
Let mortal tongues awake;
Let all that breathe partake;
Let rocks their silence break,
The sound prolong.

Our fathers' God, to Thee,
Author of liberty,
To Thee we sing;
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by Thy might,
Great God, our King.

—Samuel F. Smith

WESTWARD EXPANSION AND SLAVERY

WESTWARD EXPANSION AND SLAVERY

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- II. The Meaning of Jackson's Election

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THE SLAVERY QUESTION

- I. Conditions Affecting the Growth of Slavery
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- I. Industrial Conditions
 - 1. Nature of Development
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WESTWARD EXPANSION AND SLAVERY

Introductory

198. Character of Period.—The period of Westward Expansion and Slavery extended from about 1828 to the Civil War. As already noted, its main features or characteristics were the continued growth of the nation in territory, wealth and population, and the struggle over the extension of slavery into the territory west of the Mississippi. During the preceding period the nation had, to a large extent, thrown off its colonial conditions and traditions, and had become independent of Europe in fact as well as in name. Now, the great question of slavery and other important domestic questions, which had been gradually shaping themselves, came to the front, and the life of the nation centered around them during this entire period.

199. Meaning of Jackson's Election:⁶² (a) *Growth of Liberal Democratic Ideas.*—During the period of National Growth and European Interference there had been a steady growth among the people of liberal democratic ideas. The first results of this growth were the election of Jefferson in 1800, and the doing away with the aristocratic etiquette and ceremonies that the Federalists had introduced in connection with the official work of the national government. Another result was the extension of the right to vote. When Washington first became President, not more than one person out of every forty had the right to vote, while in 1828 about four persons out of this number had this right. The breaking down of the distinction between classes was another result of the growth of these ideas. In the North, and especially in the great and rapidly growing West, the people were no longer divided into well-defined classes, although they still were in the South. The people were coming to believe, more and more, that a person should be valued for real character and ability, and not because of birth or wealth. Thus, during the preceding period, these democratic ideas secured first one great change and then another

in the principles of government and society. But the great triumph of these ideas was the election of Jackson in 1828.

(b) *Predominance of Aristocracy up to 1828.*—Up to this time the office of President had been held by six different men. They all belonged to the upper class. Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe were from Virginia and belonged to the aristocracy of that state. Each of these four men had been President for two terms. John Adams and his son, John Quincy Adams, the other two of these first six presidents, were from Boston, and belonged to the upper class or aristocracy of that city. Each of these last two men had been President but one term. Jefferson did not believe, as did the leaders of the Federalist party, that the right to vote should be restricted to the well-educated and wealthy classes, nor did he believe that the forms and ceremonies of government should be very aristocratic. In his private life, however, Jefferson was strongly aristocratic, and he believed, as did the Federalists, that the higher officers of government should come from the well-educated and cultured classes.



ANDREW JACKSON

The election of Jackson, therefore, was contrary to the ideas of Jefferson and the Republican party, as well as to the ideas of Washington and Hamilton and the Federalist party, because Jackson was one of the common people. He was among the early settlers of the territory that afterward became the state of Tennessee. His life had been an almost continuous struggle with poverty and adverse circumstances. He was not nearly so well educated nor so cultured as were the first six Presidents. Though naturally polished and courteous, he was headstrong and

independent, and blunt in manner and speech when dealing with those who opposed him. He typified the rough frontier life of the western states. Absolutely honest himself, he sometimes placed too much confidence in men who were not honest. His election marks the complete triumph of democracy in the United States. When he took the oath of office in March, 1829, great crowds of people, who had come to the city of Washington from the North, from the South and from the West, rejoiced because at last one of their own number had become President.

(c) *State Democracy of Jefferson; National Democracy of Jackson.*—Jackson's election marked the triumph of another principle of government quite different from that in which Jefferson believed. Jefferson believed in democracy, but that which he had in mind was a *state* democracy. He believed that within each state the will of the people should be supreme, and that the national government should not interfere at all with the rights, powers and laws of the states, because the government of a state represented the desires and wishes of its people. Jefferson did not carry out these principles very well as President, but they represent his ideas of what the government should be.

Jackson, like Jefferson, believed in democracy and that the will of the people should be carried out; but Jackson's democracy was a *national* democracy and not a state democracy. He believed that the national government should be absolutely supreme so long as it did not exceed the powers granted to it by the Constitution. He gave a strict construction to the Constitution, which the Federalists and Republicans had not done, but he was determined that the national laws should be supreme, and he was prepared to invade any state that violated those laws, and, if necessary, even to hang every person who interfered with their enforcement. He had no belief in the theory that the Constitution was a contract or agreement between the states. His idea was that the Constitution was adopted by the people of the whole nation without regard to state lines, and that therefore the national government represented the will of the people of the entire nation. It thus becomes plain that Jackson's election was the triumph of national democracy as opposed to Jefferson's idea of state democracy.

POLITICAL METHODS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

200. Political Methods.⁸³ (a) *The Spoils System.*—During Jackson's two terms of office there was a complete change in national political methods and political parties. It was during this time that the Spoils System was introduced into the politics of the nation. This system consists in the giving of as many offices as possible to those who have helped elect the successful candidates. Almost every officer, from the county officials to the President of the United States, has the power of appointing persons to office. If the candidate elected be a Democrat, he usually appoints Democrats; if he be a Republican, he usually appoints Republicans. No matter how faithfully an officer may have performed his duties, his position is usually given to some member of the successful party, and often the new officer is less competent than the one whose place he takes. As a result of this policy, public business frequently suffers serious injury.



MARTIN VAN BUREN

Van Buren was one of Jackson's chief advisers

The Spoils System had already been introduced into the politics of New York, but Jackson was responsible for its introduction into national politics. He was most loyal to his friends, and bitterly opposed to his enemies. He could see nothing bad in a friend, and but little good in an enemy. He wished to reward those who had worked for his election, and decided that he could do this nicely by putting them in the offices that were under his control. He claimed that a change or rotation in office was democratic and a good thing, and that the successful candidate should fill the offices under his control with personal

followers, for they alone could be expected to work for the welfare of the administration, and his practice of rewarding political friends came to be called the "Spoils System." During the first nine months of his administration, Jackson removed more than one thousand men from office, whereas the first six Presidents together, during the first forty years of the nation's history under the Constitution, had removed less than one hundred, and those thus removed had been removed for good cause and not because of their political connections. Since Jackson's time the successful candidates of all parties have removed men from office because of politics, and have appointed members of their own party to the positions thus made vacant. Since 1871 the evil effects of this policy have been greatly lessened by the enactment of national legislation known as the Civil Service Laws. These laws require that certain officials be selected by means of examinations, and that officers thus selected cannot be removed for political reasons.

(b) *Change in the Method of Electing Electors.*—For a long time after the Constitution went into effect the great mass of the people took but little active part in the elections for President. This was due to the fact that the men—called electors—whom each state selected to choose the President and Vice President were not, as a rule, nominated by a political party, and were often not voted for by the people. In some of those states where the people had the right to vote for the electors, the latter were usually nominated by the legislature. In many states the electors were chosen directly by the legislature, and the people did not have the right to vote for them. Even as late as 1828 the electors in Delaware were elected by the legislature and South Carolina continued to use this method down to the Civil War. Under these circumstances electors would often be more or less independent when voting for candidates for President and Vice President. This was exactly as those who framed the Constitution had intended. They desired that each elector should vote for the men whom he thought best qualified for these important positions, and that his vote should not be influenced by politics or friendship. Almost from the very first, however, this intention was not carried out. A state legislature,

as a rule, would choose as electors only those who would vote as it desired. Under all these circumstances the people took very little active part in the elections for President.

But the growth of liberal democratic ideas worked a complete change in this matter. By the new state constitutions of the West, and by amendments to many of the state constitutions of the East, the people of nearly all the states gradually secured the right to vote for the electors. This was soon to bring about a change in the attitude of the people toward the election of President. In some of the states, during the presidential election of 1824, the friends of each of the various candidates nominated electors who were pledged to vote for their candidates. Thus there were several sets of men in the same state running for electors. This caused the people for the first time in the history of the nation to take some real interest in the election for President and Vice President, but in many of the states the people were not interested very much in this election. During the campaign that resulted in the election of Jackson in 1828, there was in most of the states more than one set of candidates for electors. As a result, the interest and the part that the people as a whole took in this election were much greater than they had ever before taken in any similar election, more than twice as many votes being cast for the electors as were cast in the presidential election of 1824.

(c) *National Nominating Conventions, Platforms and Campaigns.*⁹⁴—During Jackson's first term other important changes in political methods took place. New political parties were organized, and for the first time in the nation's history national political organizations were formed. Before 1832 the candidates for President and Vice President had been nominated by a caucus of party leaders in Congress or by state legislatures. The nominating of these candidates now passed into the hands of the people. The three candidates for President and the three candidates for Vice President in the campaign of 1832 were nominated by national conventions composed of delegates selected by the members of the various parties in the different states. Jackson, however, was not formally nominated by the Democratic convention, because the people knew that he was the

candidate of the Democratic party. Each of the parties in a state would send a certain number of delegates to its national convention, and would nominate for electors men pledged to vote for the candidates of the party.

Each of these first three national conventions, in addition to nominating a man for President and one for Vice President in the campaign of 1832, issued a statement of what the party believed and what it would do in case it secured control of the government. Such statements are now called platforms. They were the first of a national character issued in America.

In 1832, therefore, after liberal democratic ideas had been steadily growing among the people for almost forty-four years, the people secured complete control of the government. In each state the political parties held state conventions. These state conventions nominated candidates for the various state offices and for presidential electors, and selected delegates to the national conventions. Each national convention nominated candidates for President and Vice President, and declared the principles of the party in a statement called a platform. There was no longer any lack of interest in presidential elections. It became necessary in each state for all the parties to do all they could to win votes for their candidates. New and active campaign methods were introduced. Stump speaking, torchlight processions and spectacular displays of various kinds, such as would arouse enthusiasm among the people, were a part of this new order of things. This method of conducting a campaign has been continued to the present time, and is used in public elections of all kinds—local, state and national.

201. Political Parties: (a) *Formation of New Parties.*—In the presidential election of 1816 the Federalist party carried but three states. With this crushing defeat that party ceased to exist. During the next eight years the Republican party was the only political party in the United States. In the campaign for President in 1824 it began to break up into personal factions. In that campaign Jackson received more popular votes and more electoral votes than any other candidate; but as he did not receive a majority of the electoral vote, it became the duty of the House of Representatives to elect a President. That body

elected John Quincy Adams. During Adams' administration the fight between the leaders of the Republican party became more and more bitter, the result being the election of Jackson in 1828. During Jackson's first administration the Republican party ceased to exist, and several new parties were formed. The two more important of these are known as the Democratic party and the National-Republican party, the latter becoming known later as the Whig party. The other great party to be formed during this period was the Republican party of to-day. It was not organized until 1854.

(b) *The Democratic Party.*

—Although its leaders and issues have changed, the Democratic party organized in Jackson's time has never been broken up, and has been and is at the present time a great and powerful party. The Democratic Presidents during this period were Jackson, 1829-1837; Van Buren, 1837-1841; Polk, 1845-1849; Pierce, 1853-1857; Buchanan, 1857-1861. The first important questions on which the Demo-



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

cratic party took a stand were nullification and the United States Bank. Jackson opposed the right of nullification in a most decisive manner, and in spite of strong opposition succeeded in destroying the United States Bank. Later in this period slavery became the main issue, and the Democratic party as a party favored slavery, but in the campaign of 1860 the party split on this issue. The most important work of the party during this period was the establishment of the Independent Treasury System, the settlement of the Oregon question, the

annexation of Texas, the management of the war with Mexico, the reduction of the tariff in 1846 to an almost free-trade basis, and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854.

(c) *The Whig Party*.—The general principles on which the Whig party was formed under the leadership of Clay and Webster were broad construction of the Constitution, internal



JOHN TYLER

improvements by the aid of the national government, a protective tariff, and opposition to the extension of slavery into the territory west of the Mississippi. The Whig party was the one great rival of the Democratic party from 1834 to 1852, and twice succeeded in gaining control of the national government. The Whig Presidents were Harrison and Tyler, 1841-1845; and Taylor and Fillmore, 1849-1853. Harrison and Taylor both died in office, Harrison exactly one month after he became President, and Taylor after he had served as President a few days more than one year and four months.

When Harrison died, Vice President Tyler became President, and when Taylor died Vice President Fillmore became President. The deaths of Harrison and Taylor were very unfortunate for the Whig party. Neither Tyler nor Fillmore was really in sympathy with the principles of that party. They succeeded in preventing the Whig party from putting into effect any of its most important principles. While the compromise of 1850 regarding the extension of slavery into the western territory was a Whig measure, it was passed by the influence of Fillmore, and its passage was against the wishes of a large number of Whigs, especially those of the North, where the main strength of the party lay. The

failure of the party to take a definite stand on the slavery question, which was due largely to the influence of Fillmore, caused its downfall soon after the year 1850.

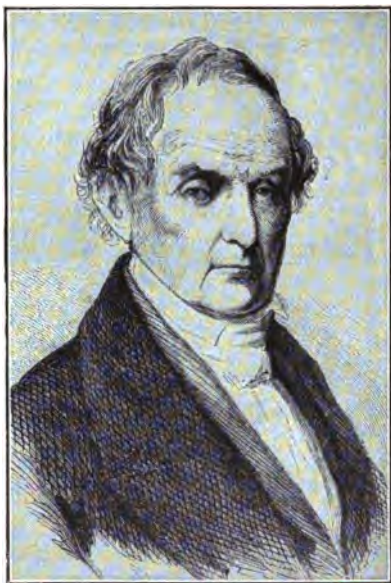
(d) *The Republican Party*.—The increasing importance of the slavery question caused changes in the Democratic party, the breaking up of the Whig party, and the rise of several minor parties in the latter part of this period. The various anti-slavery elements of all these parties united and formed a new party, which took the name Republican. This party rapidly gained strength in the North, and in 1860, under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln, first carried the national election. Further discussion of the Republican party will be given in connection with the period, Reconstruction, Development and Expansion, which period extends from the end of the Civil War to the present time.

FINANCIAL LEGISLATION: THE TARIFF

202. The Tariff and Doctrine of Nullification: (a) *High Tariff of 1828*.—Just before the presidential election of 1828 Congress enacted a tariff law that caused much trouble during Jackson's first administration. Because of the very high and absurd duties laid on imported goods by this tariff, it is called the Tariff of Abominations. The South was becoming more and more opposed to the protective principle of the tariff, but her leaders in Congress did not wish to oppose it at that time for fear that such opposition would cause Jackson's defeat in the coming election. In order to prevent the passage of a protective tariff, and at the same time make it appear to the people as though they favored it, some of the Jackson men in Congress proposed a tariff bill that levied high duties not only on manufactured goods, but also on raw materials that were not produced in the United States, or produced in quantities far too small to supply the demand. The tariff on raw material that was not produced in the United States would injure instead of help those who were engaged in manufacturing. When the bill was being discussed in Congress, the Jackson men prevented any

reduction of the proposed duties on raw material. They did this of course in order to cause those who favored levying a tariff on manufactured goods to cast their votes against the entire bill, but to the surprise of the Jackson men those members of Congress who favored a protective tariff voted for the bill, and it became a law.

(b) *Exposition and Protest of South Carolina.*—In the South the new tariff was strongly denounced. A number of the



DANIEL WEBSTER

southern legislatures passed resolutions against it. The resolutions passed by South Carolina in December, 1828, included what is known as the Exposition and Protest of South Carolina. This Exposition and Protest stated that a state had the right to nullify—that is, declare null and void—a law of Congress, if it believed that the Constitution did not give Congress the right to pass that law. This was the same doctrine that had been stated in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions in 1798, and by the Hartford convention in 1814. As stated on each of these three occasions, this doctrine

was that the Constitution was a mere compact or contract between the different states, and that a state need not obey a law enacted by Congress unless the Constitution gave that body the right to enact it. The Exposition and Protest of South Carolina was drawn up by Calhoun. When Calhoun entered Congress in December, 1811, he was a strong advocate of the dignity and the power of the national government. He voted for the War of 1812, and during his first years in Congress was a strong advocate of a protective tariff and of

internal improvement by the aid of the national government. After that, however, he changed his views.

(c) *Nullification in South Carolina.*—After the legislature of South Carolina had passed the Exposition and Protest, Calhoun suggested that a state convention be held for the purpose of deciding how to make the tariff of 1828 null and void within the limits of the state. Four years later, in November, 1832, South Carolina held a state convention for this purpose. Meanwhile the Tariff of Abominations had been revised, but its protective features had been retained. A great debate had also taken place in Congress on state rights and national sovereignty between Daniel Webster, senator from Massachusetts, and Robert Y. Hayne, senator from South Carolina.⁶⁵ The feeling created by this debate and the retaining of the protective features of the tariff made South Carolina more determined than ever to carry out the doctrine stated in her Exposition and Protest. Her state convention declared the tariff act of 1828 to be null and void, and made it unlawful after February 1, 1833, for any one in South Carolina to pay the duties which were provided in that act.

Jackson, as already stated, had no faith in the doctrine that the Constitution was a compact between the states, and he therefore did not believe that a state had the right to nullify a law of Congress. He at once prepared to enforce the tariff laws in South Carolina, and threatened to hang any one who should resist by force the collection of tariff taxes in that state. As a result of Jackson's firm attitude and the failure of the other



ROBERT Y. HAYNE

southern states to support South Carolina, the leaders of that state suspended the operations of the Nullification Act that had been passed by their state convention. In March the tariff was still further revised. This compromise tariff seemed to satisfy the people of South Carolina. Never since that time has a state tried to nullify a national law. The secession of the southern states was not based on the doctrine of nullification.

(d) *Other Tariff Changes.*—The strong opposition of the



JOHN C. CALHOUN

South to the Tariff of Abominations led to its modification in 1832, and in the following year to the passage of a compromise tariff law that provided for the gradual reduction of tariff duties during a period of ten years until the low rates—an even twenty per cent on the value of the goods—imposed by the tariff of 1816 should be reached. This limit provided by the compromise tariff was reached in 1843. At that time the Whigs had control of the government, and they increased the tariff duties slightly. But in 1846, when the Democrats again came into power, they made the tariff lower than it had been for thirty years, and during the next year reduced it still

more. No further changes were made in the tariff until just before the beginning of the Civil War.

203. Destruction of the United States Bank.—The first charter of the United States Bank expired in 1811. The second charter, which was granted by Congress in 1816, was to expire in 1836. Jackson had become strongly opposed to this bank.

He claimed that it was an "un-American monopoly," and that the government had helped it to become such by placing in it the public funds, thereby giving it a great advantage over all other banks. He also claimed that the bank was interfering in politics. All these charges that Jackson made against the bank were very likely true, but it had always been of great assistance and convenience to the government, and had tended to keep the money affairs of the entire country on a sound basis. Although the charter of the bank did not expire until 1836, the enemies of Jackson who had control of Congress passed a bill in the early part of the campaign of 1832 for renewing the charter. They did this in order to force Jackson either to approve or veto the bill in the hope that his action might prevent his re-election. He vetoed the bill, and the question of granting a new charter to the bank became the main issue of the campaign.

Jackson was re-elected by a large majority, receiving more than three times as many electoral votes as all the other candidates together. Jackson believed that this large majority meant that the

people were opposed to the bank, and after the trouble with South Carolina over the tariff had been settled, he began an active attack on the bank for the purpose of destroying it before its charter expired. He ordered the Secretary of the Treasury to deposit no more public money in the United States Bank or in any of its branch banks, and to use the public money already in them for the expenses of the government. Within a short time all the public money in the United States Bank had been used to pay the regular expenses of the government. Jackson had the surplus public funds placed in different state banks,



JAMES K. POLK

and usually in those banks that were favorable to him. Thus several years before its charter expired Jackson practically destroyed the United States Bank by causing all the national funds to be withdrawn from it. But his opposition did not stop here, for, through the influence of the President, Congress refused in 1836 to renew the bank's charter.

204. The Panic of 1837: (a) *State Banks*.—The distribution of the government money among the state banks caused a large number of these banks to be organized in order to secure some of this money. It was valuable to these banks to obtain this money because they had the right to lend it and to keep all the interest they could secure in this way. These state banks also had the right to make and issue paper money, but they were supposed to keep enough gold and silver on hand to redeem it. That is, when a man brought to a bank one hundred dollars of its paper money, the bank was supposed to give him for it one hundred dollars in gold or silver, if he so desired. As soon as the state banks received the government money they began to lend it to people in order to secure interest on it. Most of the money deposited in the banks by the government was hard money—that is, gold and silver coin. The amount of paper money that the state banks all over the country were soon making was much greater than the total amount of hard money they had lent and had on hand. All this gave the country a large amount of money, and many people in all parts of the country began to borrow from the banks.

(b) *Speculation*.—Many who borrowed money did not use it to carry on good, safe business, as farming and manufacturing, but used it for speculation—that is, they bought such property as land, farm products, slaves and railroad bonds, not for the purpose of actually keeping them, but for the purpose of selling them in a short time for more than they had paid for them. The ability of the people to borrow money easily, together with the low price of government land in the West, the building of new railroads, and the splendid condition of business generally, caused this kind of unsafe speculation to spread over the entire country and to become worse and worse. It soon became quite plain that the banks could not redeem

all the paper money they had issued. Those who held this paper money soon found that they could not exchange all of it, or nearly all of it, for gold or silver. This caused them to look on paper money with suspicion, and as a result a dollar of it soon became of less value than a dollar of gold or silver.

(c) *The Specie Circular*.—The government had been accepting paper money in payment for public lands. Jackson saw that this must be stopped, or it would result in loss to the government. He therefore issued an order that the payment for public lands must be made in gold and silver. This order of Jackson's is known as the Specie Circular, because it provided that all payments made to the government by its citizens must be made in specie—that is, in gold or silver. The Specie Circular caused people generally to become still more suspicious of the paper money issued by the state banks, and caused this money to become of still less value.



ZACHARY TAYLOR

(d) *Surplus in National Treasury Given to the States*.

—A few months after the Specie Circular had been issued another thing happened, which tended to lower still more the value of paper money. The national debt had all been paid by 1835, and as the income from the tariff and the sale of public lands was greater than the expenses of the government, a surplus began to accumulate. By the latter part of 1836 this surplus had reached about forty million dollars, most of which had been deposited in the state banks. As the national debt had all been paid, and as the government did not need this money for regular expenses, Congress decided to give it to the states. The constitution

did not permit Congress to do this, so it was given to the states in the form of a loan, but it was understood that this money was never to be paid back to the national government. In order that each state might receive its share of the surplus, many of the state banks were compelled to give up all the government money that had been deposited with them.

(e) *Financial Panic*.—The removal of government deposits from the state banks greatly reduced their supply of hard money, and greatly injured the business of the entire country. This, together with the Specie Circular, caused the value of paper money to become less and less. Men at once began to take their paper money to the banks and ask for gold or silver in return. But the banks had not the gold and silver with which to redeem it; for, as has been stated, many of them had issued a far larger quantity of paper money than they could redeem even with the government funds they had on deposit, and the sudden removal of these funds made their condition still worse. As a result, many of the state banks were compelled to close their doors. The value of paper money declined rapidly; specie payments were everywhere suspended; hundreds of business firms failed; thousands of men and women lost everything they possessed; factories were forced to suspend operations; and thus financial panic swept over the country.

205. The Independent or Subtreasury System.⁶⁶—Van Buren became President in March, 1837, just before the financial panic came. This panic made it plain that the placing of the surplus money of the government in state banks was a very bad plan. After giving the matter careful consideration, Van Buren decided that the government should own buildings in which to place its funds. In 1840 Congress, acting upon the recommendation of the President, passed what is known as the Independent Treasury Act. By the terms of this act the United States was enabled to erect in various states such government buildings as should be required in which to deposit the public money of the nation. This system, commonly known as the Subtreasury System, still exists, and has proven very satisfactory. It completely separated the financial affairs of the government from the private and state banks.

GROWTH OF THE NATION

206. The Oregon Territory: (a) *Need of an Outlet to the Pacific Coast.*—At the close of the Revolution the territory of the United States extended from Canada to Florida, and from the Mississippi to the Atlantic. By the purchase of Louisiana, in 1803, an outlet to the Gulf of Mexico and a vast and rich territory west of the Mississippi were secured. By the purchase of Florida, in 1819, the United States extended to the Gulf of Mexico that part of her southern boundary that had before reached only to the northern line of East Florida. The great thing that remained for the nation to do was to expand westward and secure an outlet to the Pacific. Jefferson had for a long time fondly hoped to see this done. Even before he became President he had endeavored to induce several men to explore the Oregon country. His great desire to secure this western country, and an outlet on the Pacific, was one of the main reasons why he was so anxious to secure Louisiana when he heard that Spain had ceded that territory to France in 1800. When Jefferson learned that France had secured Louisiana, he at once induced Congress to set aside some of the public money for the purpose of sending an expedition overland into the Oregon country. Before this expedition could be gotten ready Louisiana had been purchased; but this territory did not extend to the Pacific, and its purchase did not directly affect the Oregon country.

(b) *Lewis and Clark Expedition; Claims of United States and England.*—In the spring of 1804 the expedition for which Congress had voted money left the small frontier town of St. Louis. The party, which was in charge of Lewis and Clark, went up the Missouri and spent the winter of 1804 with the Indians. In the spring they crossed over the mountains, descended the Columbia, and in November reached the Pacific. Thirteen years before this time, Captain Gray of Boston discovered the Columbia while trading with the Indians along the coast, near the mouth of that great river. The discovery of the Columbia by Gray, the explorations of Lewis and Clark, and the coming in of American settlers, which soon took place, all

helped to give the United States the right to claim the Oregon Territory. During this time England had also been making some explorations and discoveries in the same locality, and because of her activity she, too, claimed the region.

(c) *Joint Occupation of Oregon; Treaty of 1846.*—By the



MERIWETHER LEWIS

Treaty of 1818 England and the United States agreed that both Englishmen and Americans might settle in the Oregon country. This territory extended from California north to the parallel $54^{\circ} 40'$. Russia claimed the territory north of this parallel, and Spain claimed California. This arrangement between England and the United States is known as the Joint Occupation of Oregon. The Treaty of 1818 would expire in 1828, but in 1827 another treaty was made continuing joint occupation. No time limit was fixed, but either nation could bring the agreement to an end one year after notifying the other that it desired to do so. Although the joint occupation of this territory came very nearly causing serious trouble be-

tween the two nations, it was continued in effect until 1846, when a treaty was signed that established the present northwest boundary of the United States. By this treaty Canada secured an outlet to the Pacific, and so did the United States. Thus in sixty-three years the young nation had extended its territory southward to the Gulf of Mexico and westward from the Mississippi to the Pacific. The

part of the Pacific coast secured was not very long, but there was connected with the conditions that brought about the treaty that settled the Oregon question an event that was soon to extend the territory of the United States down the Pacific coast for nearly a thousand miles south of Oregon. This event was the annexation of Texas, which took place in 1845.

207. Annexation of Texas: (a) *Balance of Power in Congress.*—The rapid growth of the North in population had given the free states a majority in the House of Representatives. As population in the North was growing more rapidly than in the South, this majority would become larger and larger. Nor could the South hope to have for a much longer time as many votes in the Senate as the North. By the Missouri Compromise of 1820 the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$ divided the Louisiana Territory as regards slavery. The territory north of this line, out of which free states would be formed, was much larger and was being settled much faster than the territory south of it, out of which slave states would be formed. The leaders of the South saw plainly that it would not be long before the free states would have a majority in the Senate, as well as in the House of Representatives. This to them became a very serious question, because there was gradually growing up in the North a moral sentiment against slavery; and the southern leaders naturally thought that Congress, being controlled by the North, would at some future time pass laws against slavery in the South. They were very anxious therefore to secure more territory out of which new slave states could be formed, in order that the South might have as many votes in the Senate as the North, and thus be able to prevent any legislation that might injure slavery.

(b) *The Settlement of Texas by Americans.*—The soil and climate of Texas made that territory well suited to slavery, and the southern people were determined to secure it if possible. It should be carefully noted, however, that it was just as natural for the Americans to advance into the territory of Texas as it was for them to advance into the territory of Oregon. Texas would no doubt have been secured by the United States if slavery had not existed in the South, but the desire of the southern leaders to secure it for the expansion of slavery

hastened, very likely, its settlement. Another thing that caused the southern people to move into this territory was the liberal offers of land that were made to the Americans. The territory south of Louisiana and Oregon belonged to the Republic of Mexico, which, as already stated, was one of the many Spanish colonies in North and South America that became independent of Spain between 1810 and 1822. As soon as Mexico became an independent nation, she offered liberal grants of land in Texas to those Americans who would bring a certain number of

families into that country. People from the southern states at once began to move into Texas, and it began to be settled by the Americans as the western territory east of the Mississippi was being settled by them.



MILLARD FILLMORE

(c) *Independence of Texas; its Annexation to the United States.*—It was not long before the Americans in Texas began to have trouble with the government of Mexico. This trouble soon led to war between Texas and Mexico. The war lasted from 1833 to 1836, and resulted in

the independence of Texas. Texas soon applied to the United States for admission as a State. This brought up the question of slavery. As most of the Americans who had settled in Texas were from the South, slavery existed there. For this reason the South was very anxious that Texas should be annexed, and for this same reason the North was anxious that she should not be annexed. If the question of slavery had not existed, Texas would very likely have been admitted without much delay and with but little opposition from any part of the United States. As the North strongly opposed the annexation of Texas because slavery existed there,

President Van Buren would not make a treaty of annexation. Tyler, who became President when Harrison died, made such a treaty secretly and submitted it to the Senate for ratification. This action of Tyler was strongly opposed by the Whig party which had elected him. The Senate rejected the treaty, and the annexation of Texas became the main issue in the presidential campaign of 1844. The platform of the Democratic party favored annexation. It also declared that the United States should take possession of all the Oregon country and settle that question. The statement regarding Oregon pleased many in the North because they were anxious to secure that country, for if secured, it could be settled and would some time be divided into free states. The Democratic party carried the election, and at once proceeded to carry out the promises it had made regarding Texas and Oregon. Texas was annexed in 1845, and the Oregon question, as has already been seen, was settled in 1846.

208. The Mexican War: (a) *Causes.*—The annexation of Texas soon brought on war between the United States and Mexico. Texas claimed that her boundary extended to the Rio Grande, while Mexico claimed it did not extend farther south than the Nueces River. Without really trying to settle the question peaceably, President Polk ordered General Taylor to occupy the disputed territory. Mexican soldiers opposed Taylor's advance, and a small battle was fought. In a message to Congress, Polk declared that war existed. Congress accepted his view of the matter, and preparations were begun for the invasion of Mexico. This war on the part of the United States was unjust. Mexico was practically forced to fight. Texas as a part of the Republic of Mexico had extended only to the Nueces, and Mexico would naturally consider Taylor's advance across that river an invasion of her territory. The United States should at least have tried to find out exactly how far south Texas extended before sending soldiers into territory that was claimed by Mexico. Many in the North opposed the war. They maintained that it was begun for the purpose of securing more slave territory. General Grant, who was an officer in this war, declared when writing about it that it was one of the most unjust wars that a strong nation ever waged against a weak one.

(b) *Campaigns; Treaty of Peace; Gadsden Purchase.*—The war itself was a series of victories for the Americans. In a campaign that lasted from August, 1846, to February, 1847, General Taylor in a series of battles south of the Rio Grande completely defeated the Mexican army. In a campaign lasting from March to September, 1847, General Scott marched from Vera Cruz and captured the city of Mexico. While these two campaigns were going on, the Americans seized New Mexico and California. The treaty of peace, which brought the war to an end, was signed



SCOTT'S ENTRANCE INTO THE CITY OF MEXICO

near the city of Mexico in February, 1848. This treaty made the Rio Grande the southern boundary of Texas, and the territory it gave to the United States includes California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico and a part of Colorado. The United States paid Mexico fifteen million dollars, and paid about three million dollars of debts that Mexico owed American citizens. Before the boundary was finally settled the United States paid Mexico ten million dollars more and secured a little more territory than was granted by the terms of the treaty. This is known as the Gadsden Purchase, and was made in 1853.

209. Growth in Territory and Population:⁸⁷ (a) *General Outline.*—In a little less than three years and two months from January 1, 1845, the United States had increased about one-third in size. Its area at the close of the Revolution was a little more than eight hundred thousand square miles; by the purchase of Louisiana and Florida the area had increased during the period of National Growth and European Interference to more than two million square miles; and by the annexation of Texas, the occupation of the Oregon Territory and the war with Mexico, the United States increased its area to more than three million square miles. The territory of the nation now extended all the way across North America, and had an average width of more than a thousand miles. The outlets on the Gulf of Mexico and on the Atlantic and Pacific oceans were magnificent.

The growth of the nation in population during the period of Westward Expansion and Slavery was even greater than its growth in territory. In 1828 there were about twelve million people living in the United States. By 1860 this number had increased to more than thirty-one millions. During this period about five million people came from Europe. Nearly all of these settled in the northern states. The rapid growth of the West had continued. The new states formed in the great, rich central plain were Arkansas, 1836; Michigan, 1837; Texas, 1845; Iowa, 1846; Wisconsin, 1848; and Minnesota, 1858. Florida became a state in 1845.

(b) *Settlement of Oregon.*—The unusual thing about the growth of population during this period as compared with previous periods was the settlement of Oregon and California. Before this period those who settled in the West moved into the territory next to that already occupied. In settling California and Oregon they passed over more than a thousand miles of country that had not yet been occupied by white people. After the Lewis and Clark expedition, American traders began to go into the Oregon Territory, but only a very few people had gone there to live before 1843. About this time many began to cross the plains and mountains in wagons. After the Oregon question was adjusted in 1846, and the people knew exactly how much of that territory belonged to the United States, the number

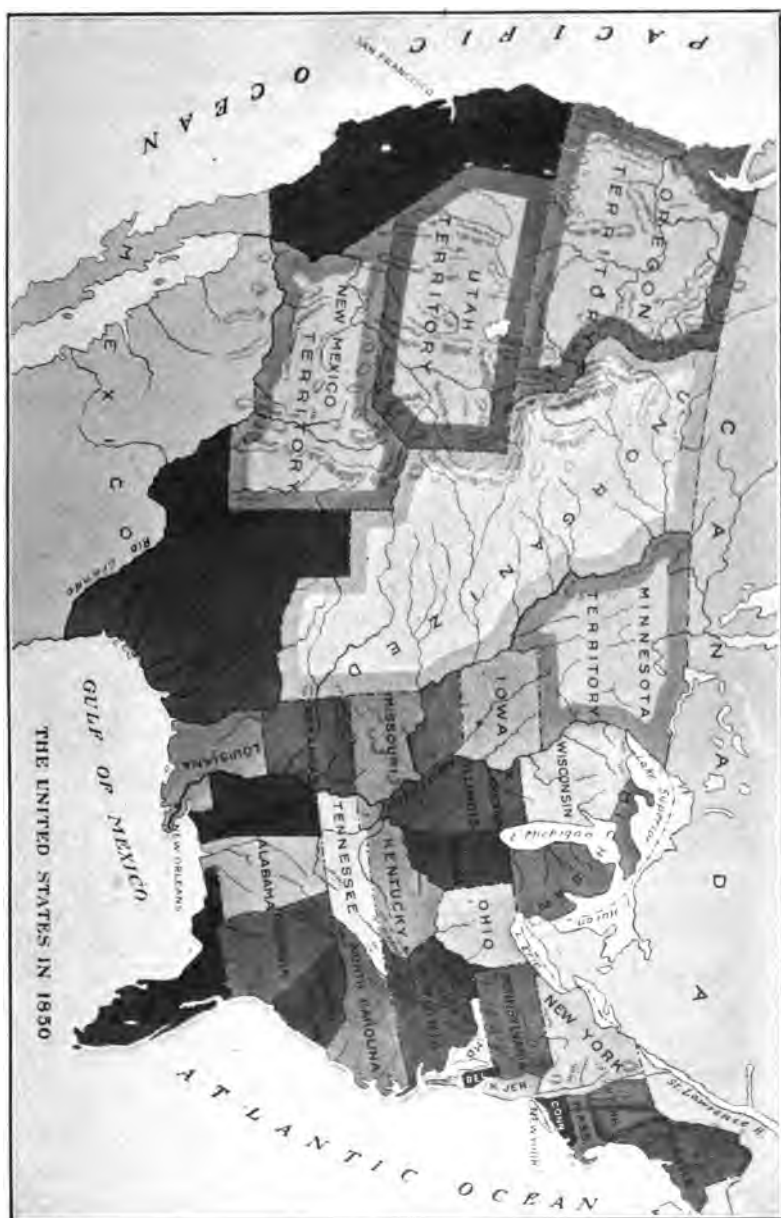
going there to live increased rapidly. In 1859 the southwest part of the Oregon Territory became the state of Oregon, and the remainder of this territory was organized and called the territory of Washington.

(c) *Settlement of California*.—While the Oregon Territory was being settled, California was being settled still faster. Before the war with Mexico there were not, however, many Americans in this country. By 1845 Fremont had made two trips overland, and at that time there were perhaps several hundred Americans in California. Before the few Americans in the Sacramento Valley knew that war existed between the United States and Mexico, they heard that the Mexican commander was coming up from Southern California to attack them. When the Americans heard that they were going to be attacked, some of them marched on the Mexican fort at Sonoma and captured it. They then declared the country independent of Mexico and named the new nation the California Republic, although it is usually known as the Bear Flag Republic. Soon the news of the war with Mexico arrived, and the United States army and navy took possession of California.

In January, 1848, a few days before the signing of the treaty of peace ending the Mexican War, gold was discovered a short distance from Sacramento, which was then called Sutter's Fort. This discovery of gold created great excitement. During the next two years a hundred thousand people went to California, and on September 9, 1850, she became a state. The admission of California is closely connected with the slavery question, and will be discussed more fully under the next topic. It is interesting to note that until Oregon was admitted to the Union in 1859, California stood alone on the Pacific coast, more than a thousand miles from all her sister states except Texas, and almost a thousand miles from the settled part of that state.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION*

210. Conditions Affecting the Growth of Slavery.—During this period the question of slavery was very closely connected with the growth of the nation in territory and population. When



the Missouri Compromise was passed, most people thought that the slavery question had been settled; but it soon became plain that this compromise secured peace on this question only for a few years. After 1830 the issue of slavery became more and more serious with each succeeding year, and it finally brought the period of Westward Expansion and Slavery to an end by plunging the nation into civil war. The fact that slaves could not be used with great profit in the North had caused the gradual abolition of slavery in the northern states. When Washington



FRANKLIN PIERCE

was first elected President, all the northern states except New York, New Jersey and Delaware had either abolished slavery or had made provision for gradually freeing the slaves. In 1799 New York took similar action, and in 1804 New Jersey made provision for gradually freeing all her slaves.

Both Washington and Jefferson had hoped to see slavery abolished in all sections of the country, and under their advice the legislature of Virginia came very near abolishing it in that state, the bill so providing being defeated by only a small majority. Had not

improved weaving machinery and the cotton gin been invented, it is quite likely that the southern states would have gradually abolished slavery. After the Revolution the South began to raise a larger variety of farm products, and was just getting ready to develop other industries in which slave labor could not have been used to great advantage. All this tended to increase in the South the growing sentiment in favor of abolition. But the invention between 1765 and 1786 of improved weaving machinery created an immense demand for cotton, and the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 made it



possible to supply this demand. This made slave labor more valuable in the southern states, and fastened slavery more firmly on the South than the extensive production of tobacco, rice and indigo had done before the Revolution. After 1800 the southern states devoted more and more of their time and energy to the production of cotton, and as a natural result slavery became more and more firmly rooted in the industrial and social life of the South. The southern people began to consider slavery a natural and normal condition. The fact that the slaves were of another race, uneducated, and in many cases almost savage, had a great deal to do in causing the southern people to look on slavery in that light. In the North, where the people were not accustomed to slaves and to slavery, there began to grow up gradually the idea that slavery was wrong. The gradual growth of this idea in the North marks the beginning of the final struggle over slavery.

211. Rise of the Abolitionists: (a) *Origin and Doctrine.*—For about eleven years after the Missouri Compromise in 1820 the slavery question was very quiet. But in 1831 the few people in the North who had come to believe that slavery was wrong began to attack it and to demand that it be abolished in all the states. Because they wished to have slavery abolished, they were called Abolitionists. The number of Abolitionists in the North was not very large, even at the beginning of the Civil War; but this small number became very active. In 1831 William Lloyd Garrison established a paper in Boston. He called his paper *The Liberator*, and printed it for the purpose of attacking slavery. Abolition societies were formed throughout the North. The Abolitionists advocated the immediate freeing of all the slaves, and circulated pamphlets, papers and magazines throughout the United States setting forth their doctrines. They did not have very much success, however, in inducing the people to think as they did on this question.

(b) *Opposition to Abolitionists in North and South.*—The slave-holders in the South were enraged by the activity of the Abolitionists, and did not seem to realize that their number in the North was very small. As the Abolitionists claimed that slavery was wrong, the southern people were virtually forced to maintain that it was right. They claimed that slavery was a

positive good to the negro, because instead of remaining savages as did their brothers in Africa, the slaves in the South were Christians and were civilized. Many of the southern ministers claimed that the Bible sanctioned slavery, and that the people of the North should not oppose it. In 1831 a slave insurrection, which resulted in the death of about sixty whites and one hundred negroes, broke out in Virginia. The southern people claimed that this was due to the agitation of the Abolitionists.

Many people began to demand that the Abolitionists should not be permitted to send their papers and pamphlets through the mail. A bill was even introduced in Congress, with the full approval of President Jackson, to prohibit the sending of such "incendiary literature" through the mails. Although this bill did not pass, it showed the strength of the feeling that prompted it. Some of the anti-slavery literature was actually removed from the mails and destroyed.

In the North the feeling against the Abolitionists was almost as strong as in the South. The great mass of the northern people denounced them severely. Their meetings were broken up; their printing presses were destroyed; and their leaders threatened with death, Lovejoy, an Abolition editor, being actually killed in Illinois in 1837 while trying to prevent his printing press from being destroyed by a mob. In New England the opposition to the Abolitionists was very strong. Garrison was led through the streets with a rope around his body, and school-houses used for the purpose of educating negroes were torn down and totally destroyed. All this indicates plainly that at that



JAMES BUCHANAN

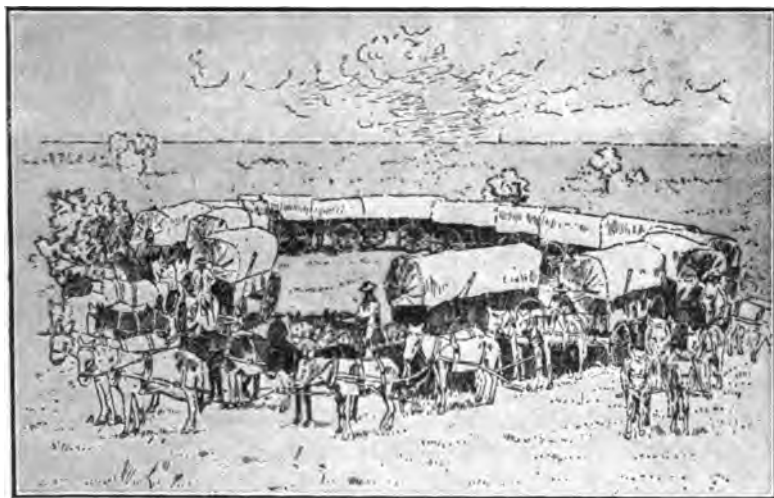
time the great mass of the northern people cared very little for the negro, and that the moral sentiment against slavery in the North was very weak.

(c) *The Gag Resolutions; Cause and Results.*—One phase of opposition to the Abolitionists was soon to change the attitude of many of the northern people toward slavery. The Abolitionists sent many petitions to Congress against slavery. At first these petitions were printed, referred to the proper committee, and then nothing more was done with them. The members of Congress from the South, however, soon became so strongly opposed to them, and so angry at the Abolitionists for constantly attacking slavery and agitating the question, that in 1836 they secured in both the House and Senate the passage of resolutions that prevented the printing of any petitions that referred in any way to slavery, or the referring of any such petition to a committee. These resolutions were called Gag Resolutions. Ex-President John Quincy Adams, who was then an old man, was a member of the House of Representatives. He made a noble fight against this attack on the right of petition. The angry debates on this question in Congress directed the attention of the entire nation to the matter.

The passage of the gag resolutions was practically a refusal on the part of Congress to receive petitions from the people, and was therefore a direct violation of the Constitution of the United States. It was a violation of a right held especially dear by English-speaking people, because it was one of those rights that had cost them centuries of bloodshed and struggle to secure. The great mass of the northern people had little love for the Abolitionists, but they were thoroughly aroused at this interference with the right of petition, and it caused them to give more attention to the slavery question and to what the Abolitionists had to say. The action of Congress on these slavery petitions, therefore, tended to create a strong feeling in the North against the attitude of the South on the slavery question, and the sending in of these petitions by the few Abolitionists united the South in strong opposition to the North.

212. The Compromise of 1850: (a) *The Wilmot Proviso.*
—The attempt of the Abolitionists, and of others in the North,

to convince the people of the United States that slavery was morally wrong, caused the southern people to think that by and by a majority of the northern people would come to believe that slavery should not exist. This caused the people of the South to believe that if the free states should get control of the Senate as well as of the House of Representatives, Congress would by and by enact laws for the purpose of interfering with slavery in the South. The southern leaders were therefore very anxious to secure more slave territory in order that a slave state might



AN EMIGRANT TRAIN

During a halt the wagons were frequently arranged as here shown, for greater security against attack

be admitted to the Union with every free state, and thus prevent the North from getting control of the Senate. Up to 1850, except for a short period after the adoption of the Constitution, there had been just as many slave states as free states. When California, in 1849, applied for admission as a free state, the southern leaders were determined that it should not be admitted, because its admission would give the free states control of the Senate, and because they wished slave states to be formed out of the territory secured from Mexico. They knew that unless slave states were formed out of most of this territory, it was

only a question of time when the number of free states would far outnumber the slave states. The question as to whether slavery should or should not exist in the territory secured from Mexico was first discussed when the bill to provide money to pay Mexico for this territory was before Congress. Representative Wilmot wished to amend this bill so as to provide that slavery could not exist in any of the territory bought with this money. His amendment, known as the Wilmot Proviso, was defeated, but its discussion attracted general attention to the question of extending slavery into the territory secured from Mexico.

(b) *Feeling in North and South over Extension of Slavery into Western Territory.*—By this time many people in the North were determined that slavery should not be extended into any more of the western territory except into that part of the Louisiana Territory south of the parallel $36^{\circ} 30'$, as provided in the Missouri Compromise. Under these circumstances, the discussion over the question of admitting California caused feeling in the North and in the South to become so bitter that threats of disunion were made in both sections, as well as in Congress. In addition to demanding that slavery should be permitted to extend into any part of the western territory, the South demanded the passage of a fugitive slave law that would practically compel the people of the North to help capture the slaves who might escape into the free states from the slave states. The North, in addition to demanding that slavery should not be permitted to extend into any more of the western territory, demanded its abolition in the District of Columbia.

(c) *Terms of the Compromise.*—As the debates in Congress over these questions became more and more bitter, both Webster and Clay became alarmed for the safety of the nation. They introduced, urged and secured the adoption of compromise measures on the ground that the Union was in danger of breaking up. These measures are known as the Compromise of 1850, and, in substance, are as follows:

1. California was admitted as a free state, while Utah and New Mexico were organized as territories without any provision as to slavery. This practically nullified and repealed the Missouri Compromise; for while that measure was

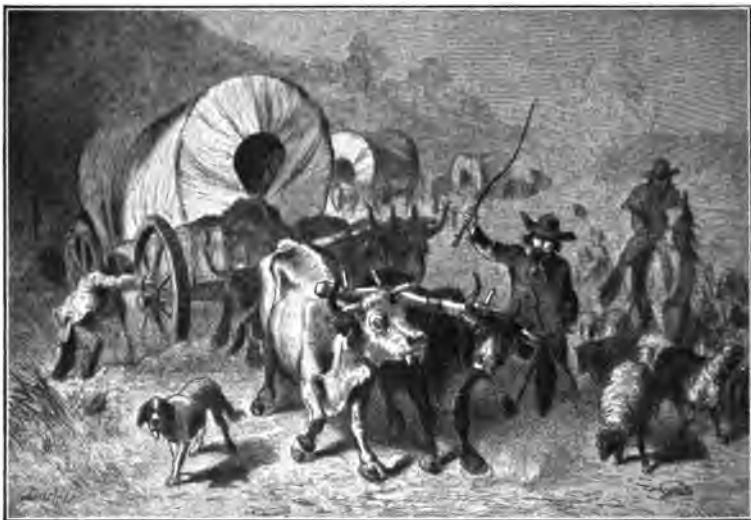
passed for the purpose of settling the slavery question in the Louisiana Territory, it was but natural that the parallel of 36° 30' should be considered as extending westward with the acquisition of new territory, as the boundary line between free and slave territory.

2. The slave trade was prohibited in the District of Columbia. The fact that slavery was not abolished in this District after the question of doing so had been discussed tended to establish it there more firmly than ever.
3. A strict Fugitive Slave Law was enacted. This law enabled a man from the South to come into a free state and claim that any negro living there was his slave. A negro thus accused of being a runaway slave was not permitted a trial by jury. If a man swore that a certain negro was his slave, that settled the matter. Federal officers in the free states were supposed to help capture and return runaway slaves.

213. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill: (a) *Effect of Fugitive Slave Law.*—As in the case of the Missouri Compromise thirty years before, many thought that the Compromise of 1850 would settle the slavery question. But it was a temporary measure only, and caused scarcely a lull in a question that was becoming more and more serious. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" appeared in 1852, and although this book was an unjust statement regarding the actual and normal condition of slavery, it had a strong influence in creating a feeling in the North against the entire slavery system. The Fugitive Slave Law also really made matters worse. The South seems to have made a special effort to enforce this law, and thus to have unnecessarily irritated the people of the North by keeping before them constantly the worst phase of slavery. The determined attempt of the South to enforce this law caused the North to become bitterly opposed to it, and to try to prevent it from being enforced. The Abolitionists and others established a regular system, called the Underground Railroad, for the purpose of assisting the runaway slaves to escape into Canada, where the laws protected them from capture.

(b) *Terms and Results of the Bill.*—While this bitter feeling was at its height, Senator Douglas from Illinois introduced into Congress, in 1854, a bill known as the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

This bill as finally passed expressly repealed the Missouri Compromise, organized the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and provided that the question of slavery in these territories should be decided by a vote of the settlers when they applied for admission to the Union. This principle, as used in connection with the slavery question, is known as Popular or Squatter Sovereignty. This meant that the question of slavery in a state or territory was to be decided by a vote of the people in that state or territory. The debates on the Kansas-Nebraska bill



EMIGRATION TO THE WESTERN COUNTRY

aroused a strong feeling in the North, and its passage brought the slavery question to the front more prominently than ever before in our history, because it opened up all the western territory to slavery.

The first result was civil strife in Kansas. The South was determined that Kansas should become a slave state, while the North was determined that it should become a free state. Both sections, therefore, rushed settlers into the territory in order to have a majority of the votes when it came to voting on the question. Most of the settlers from the North intended to

remain in Kansas and make it their home; many of those from the South came in for the special purpose of carrying the election for slavery, and intended after that was accomplished to return to their old homes. The bitter struggle that followed between the opposing factions resulted in the death of many people. The murder and lawlessness continued in Kansas until the territory was admitted as a free state in 1861. This state of affairs kept the entire nation aroused on the slavery question.

The attempt of John Brown to start a slave insurrection at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, was closely related to the murder and lawlessness in Kansas. John Brown came to Kansas from Ohio in 1855, and was one of those supplied with money and arms by people in the North to help make Kansas a free soil state. He was connected with some of the bloodiest work in that state. In the summer of 1859 he went to Harper's Ferry, or near there, and during the night of October 16, with the assistance of some twenty men, seized the United States arsenal at that place. The war department sent Colonel Robert E. Lee to Harper's Ferry and on the morning of the 18th he retook the arsenal, one of his men being killed by the insurgents. Brown was captured, convicted and hanged. In his report to the Secretary of War, Lee said: "The result proves that the plan was the attempt of a fanatic or madman, which could only end in failure; and its temporary success was owing to the panic and confusion he succeeded in creating by magnifying his numbers." But although Brown was a fanatic, and although his attempt to start a slave insurrection was strongly denounced in the North, many of the southern people did not understand this clearly, and the affair created bitter feeling throughout the South.

214. The Dred Scott Decision.—When the feeling over this struggle in Kansas was the strongest, the Supreme Court of the United States made a decision that still further aroused the North. This decision was made in 1857 and is known as the Dred Scott Decision. Dred Scott was a slave who was taken by his master into the free state of Illinois, and then into territory that by the Missouri Compromise was to be forever free. On his return to Missouri he sued for his freedom on the ground that slavery could not exist on free soil, and that therefore his

residence in the free North had made him free. In deciding the case the Supreme Court of the United States held that a slave was not a citizen, but property, and therefore had no rights in the courts as a person. This meant that neither the Congress of the United States nor the legislature of a state or territory could interfere with slavery. It meant that slavery could legally exist in all the northern states and in all the western territory. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill and the Dred Scott Decision seemed



WALL STREET, NEW YORK CITY, IN 1859

at the time to be great victories for the South, because they threw open all the western territory to slavery. It was soon to be seen, however, that so far as the South was concerned, they were not victories, but defeats. This decision, the bill and the bloody struggle in Kansas caused by the bill, had so aroused the people of the North that they were about ready to decide that slavery should not be extended into any more of the western territory. The decision when once made was to prove final.

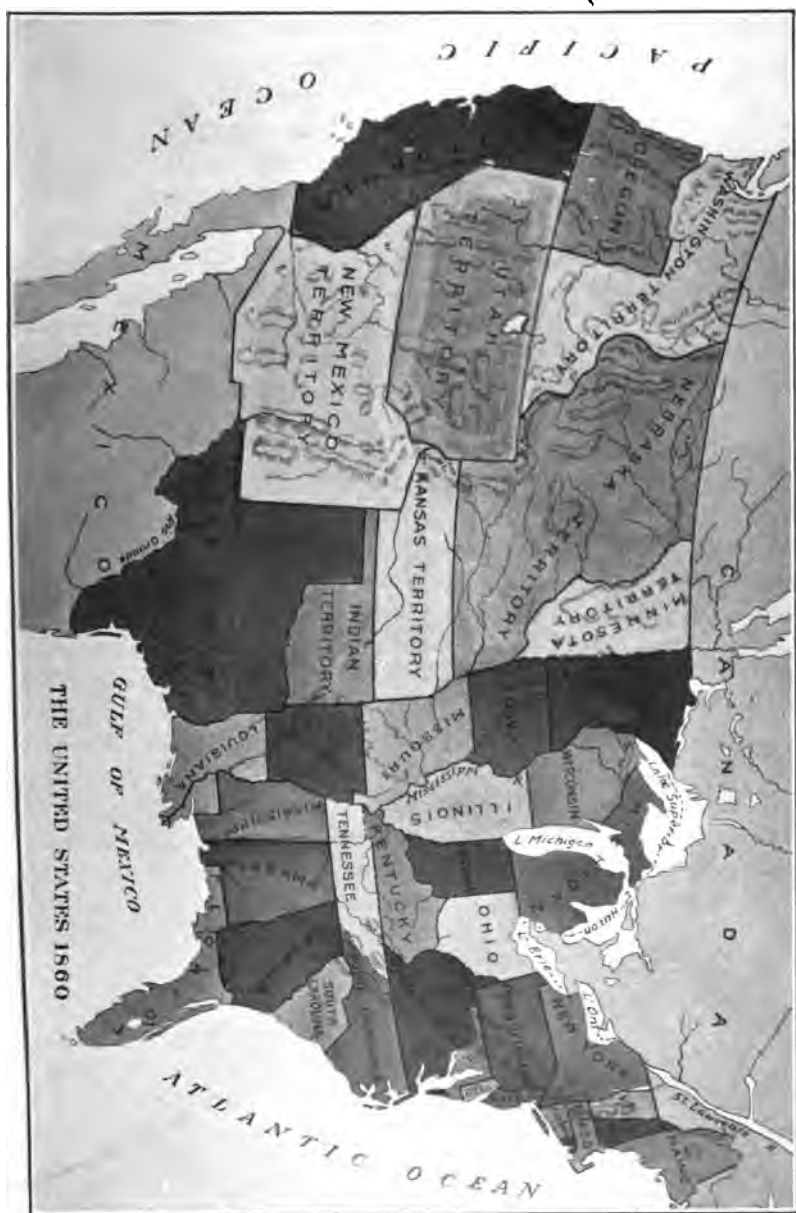
215. The Lincoln-Douglas Debates.—In 1858, one year after the rendering of the famous Dred Scott Decision, Senator

Douglas, the author of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, was a candidate for re-election from Illinois. Abraham Lincoln was the candidate of the young Republican party for the same position. The result of the campaign between the Democrats and Republicans for control of the state legislature promised to be close. If the Democrats secured a majority in the state legislature, Douglas would be elected United States senator; but if the Republicans secured a majority, Lincoln would be elected. Under these circumstances both Douglas and Lincoln naturally took an active part in the state campaign. They finally arranged to hold joint debates in different parts of the state. These debates are known as the Lincoln-Douglas Debates. They were very important because the speakers dealt with the slavery question and created a profound impression throughout the nation. Both men discussed the question in a most able manner. Lincoln was frank in expressing his strong opposition to the further spread of slavery into any part of the western territory, and he held that the Dred Scott Decision was contrary to the Constitution of the United States. He intimated that this decision had been made for the purpose of assisting slavery. He was opposed to the principle of Popular or Squatter Sovereignty, and held that Congress should absolutely forbid the further extension of slavery. He also expressed the belief that the slavery question would not be finally settled until the nation had become either all free or all slave. In these debates, Douglas was forced to defend the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty, and in doing so he was forced, in substance, to oppose the Dred Scott Decision, because that decision denied the right of the people in a state or territory to decide the question of slavery by a vote. The result of the campaign gave the Democrats a majority in the state legislature, and Douglas was re-elected United States senator; but his defense during the campaign of the doctrine of Popular or Squatter Sovereignty, which doctrine was contrary to the principle of the Dred Scott Decision, caused the Democrats of the South to refuse to support him when he was nominated for President in 1860. Lincoln's frank and able speeches during the campaign attracted the attention of the entire nation, and did

much to cause the people of the North gradually to accept the views he held on the slavery question. The foundation was laid for his election to the presidency in 1860.

216. The Election of Lincoln.—In 1860 the Republicans nominated Lincoln for President. The Republican platform denied specifically any intention to interfere with slavery in the South, but demanded that Congress prohibit it in all the western territory. Thus the Republicans expressed their disbelief in the Dred Scott Decision, because that decision denied to Congress the right to interfere with the spread of slavery. The regular Democratic convention nominated Douglas, but the southern Democrats withdrew from the convention and nominated Breckenridge because the northern Democrats would not declare that slavery was morally right, and that Congress should protect it in the territories. Another convention composed of men from the different parties met and nominated Bell. The campaign resulted in the election of Lincoln.

217. Result of Lincoln's Election.—Lincoln's position on the slavery question had been made plain in the Lincoln-Douglas Debates, in which he declared that he was emphatically opposed to the further extension of slavery, and that in his opinion the nation must in time become all free or all slave. The majority of the people in the North agreed with him. While the Republican party and Lincoln specifically stated that they did not intend or desire to interfere with slavery in those states where it already existed, the South believed that the election of Lincoln meant that slavery would not be further extended. The southern leaders, therefore, considered it necessary to withdraw from the Union. In December, 1860, the state of South Carolina formally withdrew from the Union and at once took steps to persuade the other slave states to do likewise. Her withdrawal marks the beginning of the American Civil War.



INSTITUTIONAL LIFE

218. Introductory.—During the period from about 1828 to 1860 the growth along institutional lines in the United States was remarkable and very important. This was really true, however, only of the North and West, for in the South there was very little change in the five institutions, their conditions remaining almost stationary except in a few respects. While the greatest changes in the North and West were in industrial conditions, there were important changes also in the institutions of society, government, religion and education.

219. Industrial Development; Phases and Results.—In spite of the panic of 1837, and the slighter financial depression that occurred in 1857, the period of Westward Expansion and Slavery was one of wonderful industrial advancement for the nation as a whole. Foreign immigration, improvements in machinery of nearly all kinds and the great improvement in means of transportation and communication, together with the opening up of the country this caused, were all factors in this great industrial advance. All these things resulted in the building up of great manufacturing and commercial interests, in the building of cities, and in the development of new industries. The South did not have her share in this general industrial advance. White labor was unable to compete with slave labor, a fact that not only caused foreign immigrants to go into the North and Northwest, but also caused many of the white laborers to leave their old homes in the South and go into the North, where free labor prevailed. Free labor is necessary for advancement along commercial and manufacturing lines, and hence the South was prevented from developing its immense natural resources along these lines. The only important changes in the industrial conditions of the South during this period were the continued growth of the cotton industry and the firmer establishment of the slavery system. The difference in population in the North and the South is good evidence of the difference in the advance in industrial conditions. The northern free

states in 1860 outnumbered the southern slave-holding states in white population by about ten millions, or more than two to one. Since agriculture tends to scatter population, and manufacturing and commerce tend to centralize it, many cities sprang up in the North, but very few in the South.

220. Transportation and Communication:⁶⁹ (a) *Profound Effect of the Railroad and Telegraph.*—No advance made during this period was of so much importance to the nation as the improvement in the means of transportation and communication. At the end of the period of National Growth and European Interference in 1828, the first attempts to build railroads were just beginning to be made. During that period the people had devoted much of their attention and money to building canals and roads, in order to secure better means of transportation and communication between the different sections of the country, especially between the East and the West. The improvement in roads and canals, together with the great improvement in transportation that resulted from the invention of the steamboat, had made the means of transportation and communication much better by 1828 than they were in 1800.

But however much canals and roads and steamboat navigation might have been improved, the extensive territory of the nation could not have been well held together under one government, nor its vast wealth and resources thoroughly developed, if much better means of transportation and communication had not been provided. The vast areas of rich and fertile land, at a considerable distance from navigable rivers, could not have been developed to any great extent, because the cost of getting the produce to market would have been too great. If the means of transportation and communication had remained the same as they were in 1828, those people who in the future might be living in the great central plain west of the Mississippi would have very little business or social relations with those living on the Atlantic coast; and those living on the Pacific coast would have still less with all those living east of the Rocky Mountains. This would have tended to cause the different sections of the country to drift gradually apart, and might have resulted in the forming of several nations out of the present territory of the

United States. This last, perhaps, is a rather extreme statement; but when we remember that if it were not for the railroad, it would require a tiresome journey of months for a person on the Pacific coast to reach Washington or New York or Boston, it becomes plain that some sections of the country would have had very little in common with some of the other sections.

The railroad and the telegraph were, therefore, of the very greatest importance to the political, to the industrial and to the social life of the nation. So far as business and government



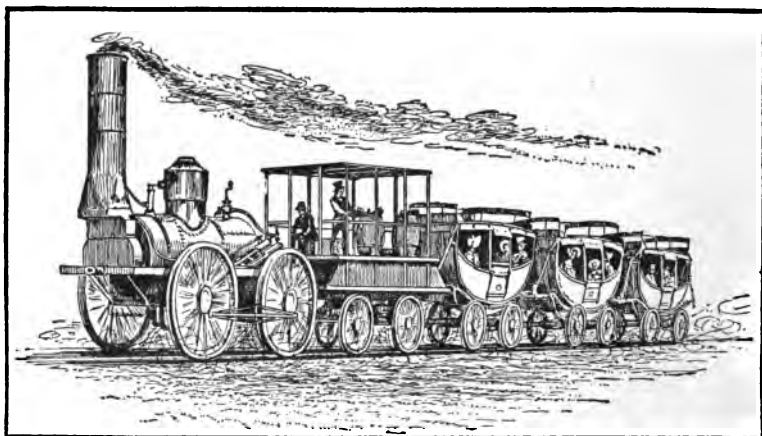
THE WAYSIDE INN—STOPPING PLACE FOR STAGES

are concerned, the nation is smaller to-day than was the state of New York or the state of Pennsylvania before the railroad and the telegraph were used as means of transportation and communication. Since the telegraph came into general use it requires but a few minutes to send a message from California to Maine, and but a short time to send one around the world. Where before it required months to cross the continent, it now requires but a few days, and manufactured goods and farm products can be quickly sent from almost every part of the nation to the markets of the world. The railroads have caused

the rich lands away from navigable rivers to be settled up almost as rapidly as those near these rivers. Men with money have built railroads out into the wild country where scarcely anybody lived, knowing well that the people would soon follow, settle on the lands and thus create good business for the roads. The railroads, therefore, have been a very strong factor in breaking down the feeling of state rights and sectionalism, and in creating among the people a deep feeling of love and patriotism for the nation as a whole. They have done this by causing the business of the entire nation to become closely related, and by enabling many of the people of each section of the country to travel a great deal and thus to become acquainted and friendly with the people of the other sections. As a result, local customs, local habits and local feeling have largely ceased to exist. Even a new style of dress will often be worn in all parts of the nation within a short time after it is first introduced, whereas if the railroad did not exist, it would never be worn at all in some sections of the country. In order to get a better idea of the importance of the railroad and the telegraph, it is well to consider what the result would be if they were all destroyed and no more were built. One result would be the immediate destruction of the prosperity of the nation. Millions of people would be compelled to move at once, or else starve to death. The value of the railroads and the telegraph to the life of the nation and to the prosperity of the entire world can hardly be overestimated. They must, therefore, be placed among the very greatest benefits ever secured by mankind.

(b) *Progress of Railroad Building.*—The first railroads in the United States were planned in the year 1827, and during the next year work was begun on several lines. In 1828 work was begun on a railroad designed to connect Baltimore with the West. It was called the Baltimore and Ohio, and was intended to carry both freight and passengers. The rails used on the first roads consisted of wood, and the wagon-like cars or coaches were drawn by horses. The first engines or locomotives were made in England. Several were soon brought over to the United States, and in 1829 one was put in use on the Baltimore and Ohio road, where iron instead of wooden rails were being used.

From this time on, the people paid less attention to the building of canals and wagon roads, and turned their attention more and more to the construction of railroads. With each succeeding year the railroads constantly improved, and the means of travel and of transporting goods became better and better. In 1850 there were more than seven thousand miles of railroads in the United States, and by 1860 the number of miles had increased to about thirty thousand. Thus the different sections of the country were being brought closer and closer together. Just before 1860 the question of building a railroad to the Pacific



AN EARLY RAILROAD TRAIN

coast was taken up by the people. The national government lent more than fifty-five million dollars to the corporation that undertook to construct it, and gave also much valuable land. In 1869 this road was completed, and the long distance between California and the East was at last overcome. In addition to the great improvements in transportation brought about by the building of railroads, the improvement in the steamboat during this period made steamboat transportation much better and faster. In most of the larger cities street horse cars also came into general use during this time.

(c) *The Telegraph*.—While the railroad did a very great service in securing rapid means of communication, the invention

of the telegraph almost annihilated space between nearly all the civilized parts of the world. In 1837 Samuel F. B. Morse secured his first patent on the telegraph instrument. Then he began his slow but sure struggle to put the telegraph into successful operation. With the assistance of thirty thousand dollars granted by Congress he put into successful operation between Baltimore and Washington, in 1844, the first telegraph line in the world. After this success the construction of telegraph lines proceeded rapidly, and nearly all the large cities were soon connected. In 1858, after two attempts had resulted in failure, a telegraph line, called a submarine cable, was put into successful operation between America and Europe, but after a few weeks it failed to work. In 1868, however, another cable was laid between America and Europe, and this continued to work successfully. Thus, so far as communication was concerned, the Old World and the New World had become practically one. People in America could read while eating breakfast what had happened in Europe the day before. The successful operation of the railroad and the telegraph indicated plainly that the forces of nature were being made to contribute more and more to the prosperity and happiness of mankind.



SAMUEL F. B. MORSE

221. Other Inventions and Discoveries:⁷⁰ (a) *Reaper, Threshing Machine and Sewing Machine.*—While the railroad and the telegraph constituted the most important business achievements of this period, they were by no means the only important ones. There were many inventions that affected profoundly the industrial growth of the nation. Congress

established the patent office in 1790. Between that time and 1860 more than forty-three thousand patents were issued, more than thirty thousand of them being issued between 1840 and 1860. Since 1840 the American people have led the world in the matter of inventions. Among the more important ones made before 1860 were the sewing machine, the reaper and the threshing machine. Howe secured the first patent for his sewing machine in 1846. During the next fifteen years this machine was made so workable that it brought about a marked change in the cost of all those things that had to be sewed, and especially was this true in regard to clothing. Before the sewing machine was invented, all stitching had to be done by hand. Hand sewing was slow and expensive. The sewing machine did away with a large amount of this hand work. This greatly lessened the cost of clothing and other things that had formerly been sewed by hand, and increased the output of all these articles. The invention of the reaper and the threshing machine made fully as great a change in the raising of grain as the sewing machine had done in the making of all those things that had to be sewed. McCormick secured the first patent on his reaper in 1831, and the first threshing machine came into use about the same time. Before the reaper and the threshing machine were invented, all the wheat raised had to be cut with the hand sickle or the scythe, and the grains had to be removed from the wheat heads by placing the straw on a floor and pounding it with sticks called flails, or by driving cattle or horses over it. By 1845 the reaper and the threshing machine were coming into general use, and the old slow and expensive methods of cutting and threshing grain were rapidly disappearing. In many other lines of industry old methods of work, and old kinds of machinery used for manufacturing goods, were displaced by the more important of the more than thirty-five thousand inventions made by the Americans during this period, and by some of the other important inventions made by the people of Europe, especially by those of England.

(b) *Rubber and Iron Goods; Coal; Gas.*—It was during this period that Goodyear discovered the process by which raw rubber is used in the manufacture of goods. The result has been the

manufacture of a great variety of rubber goods, many of which are almost absolutely necessary to present industrial life. The advance in the manufacture of iron goods was also very important. A large number of new things were made from iron, and iron goods came into more general use for practical purposes. The iron industry was greatly benefited by the discovery that hard or anthracite coal could be used for heating purposes. This coal displaced wood not only for the purpose of producing the heat necessary for the manufacture of iron goods, but also for home use. It was during this period that gas was first used for purposes of lighting. Gas began to be used for lighting streets and houses in England about 1813, but it was not used for this purpose in the United States until after 1828. The use of gas for lighting purposes was very important, because kerosene and the kerosene lamp did not come into use in England until about 1848, and it was later than this that they were adopted in the United States.



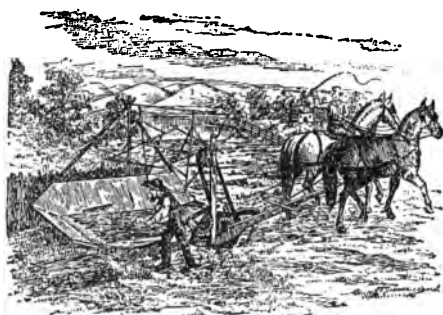
ELIAS HOWE

Many of the other inventions made during this time might be discussed, but it becomes plain from what has already been said about inventions and discoveries, and the improvements in means of transportation and communication, that the world made greater progress along such lines during the period from about 1828 to 1860 than during all the years before that time. It will be seen later that the advance made along these same lines since the Civil War has also been of the very greatest importance.

222. Agriculture and Manufactures.—The production of cotton continued to be the leading occupation in the South, and came to absorb, more and more, the time and energy of all the

people south of the border slave states. In the border slave states and in the North a large variety of crops continued to be raised. Virginia continued to lead the other states in the production of tobacco. In the northern part of the West the production of wheat and corn increased enormously. The inventions of the reaper and the threshing machine, and improvements in other farming machinery, were of immense value to agriculture. This new machinery greatly reduced the amount of hard labor on the farm, and made farming much more pleasant and profitable.

The growth of the manufacturing industry was fully as great as that of agriculture. While the real development of the great



THE FIRST MCCORMICK REAPER

mineral resources of the nation did not take place until during the period after the Civil War, the great demand for iron goods and the use of coal for heating purposes caused the beginning of the extensive mining of coal and of iron ore. The development of the gold and silver mines of the

Rocky Mountains and the Pacific coast region was also proceeding rapidly. The mining of iron and coal assisted the growth of manufactures, and the growth of manufactures created, in turn, a demand for the mineral resources of the nation. The invention of much valuable machinery for the manufacture of goods of various kinds made increased production of manufactured goods possible. The building of railroads and telegraph lines, the invention of the sewing machine, and of many other practical devices, created a large demand for many new kinds of manufactured goods, supplies and materials. At the same time, the amount of cotton and woolen manufactured goods increased steadily. The result of all this activity caused the manufacturing industry to grow so rapidly that the goods produced in the United States in 1860

were worth about two billion dollars. More than one and a half million men were employed in the making of these goods, and they received each year in wages about four hundred and fifty million dollars. The period after the Civil War was to see this growth continued to such an extent that to-day the United States stands at the head of the manufacturing nations.

223. Commerce, Domestic and Foreign.—The growth of agriculture and manufactures led naturally to the growth of commerce. The improvement in steamboat navigation, the building of railroads, and the many valuable inventions to which reference has already been made, helped the growth of agriculture and manufactures. All this caused the development of an immense internal commerce and a steady increase in the nation's foreign commerce. By the end of this period American foreign and domestic commerce combined was larger than that of any other nation, but the foreign commerce alone was not so large as that of England. It has continued to grow, however, and to-day (1909) the foreign commerce of the United States is greater than that of any other nation, while the domestic commerce of the country has grown even more rapidly.

The shipping industry had also developed rapidly. In 1860-1861 more of the world's commerce was carried in American ships than in the ships of any other nation. Since that time, however, the shipping industry of the United States has declined, and to-day England leads the world in the carrying of foreign commerce, although England's foreign commerce at the present time is smaller than that of the United States. It becomes plain from all this that the shipping industry of the United States was in a more prosperous condition during the period of Westward Expansion and Slavery than it had ever been before or has been since, and that the growth of the nation's domestic and foreign commerce during the same time was even more rapid than the growth of its shipping industry.

224. Growth of Cities.⁷¹—It is worth noting in this connection that the rapid growth of commerce bore a close and very important relation to the growth of cities. The growth of manufactures and commerce causes the growth of cities, and especially is this true of commerce. Agriculture tends to scatter population

and thus to prevent the growth of large cities. When the North and South are compared with respect to the growth of cities during this period, the correctness of this statement is well illustrated. In 1861 Baltimore, St. Louis and New Orleans were the only cities in the South that had a population of more than one hundred thousand. The growth of cities in the North, on the other hand, had been very rapid. In 1828 only about six hundred thousand people lived in the cities of the North, but by 1860 this number had increased to almost five millions. At the latter date, New York City alone had a population of about eight hundred thousand, while seven other northern cities had populations ranging all the way from one hundred thousand to five hundred thousand. All these large cities were commercial centers, and were therefore railroad centers, and centers for either ocean navigation or inland steamboat navigation. All this illustrates still further that slavery, by restricting the South to agriculture, was preventing there the growth of manufactures, of commerce and of cities, and was causing the South to fall behind the North rapidly in wealth and population.

225. Social Conditions: (a) *Class Distinctions.*—During the period of Westward Expansion and Slavery, as was also the case during the period of National Growth and European Interference, the most important change in social conditions was the breaking down of class distinctions in the North and the continuation of sharp class distinctions in the South. During this period the division of the northern people into classes became less and less marked, while the division of the southern people into classes remained almost as sharp and distinct as during colonial times. The large slave-holders continued to be the absolute leaders in politics and society. They dominated and controlled almost every phase of southern life. Their leadership was accepted by the middle and lower classes as a matter of course. The middle class continued to consist of the traders and the small farmers, while the third class of whites continued to consist of the "poor whites." The negroes constituted the fourth class of southern society.

In the North there were no longer any well-defined classes among the people, and especially was this true in the western

part of the North. The idea that one man was better than another simply because of his birth or because he was wealthy was being accepted by fewer and fewer people. More and more people were coming to judge a person's real worth solely by his character, ability and education. This idea tends to bring all men to a common level so far as government and general social relations are concerned. In the election of Jackson, and in the organization of state and national nominating conventions, the people had asserted this common equality in government and politics. They had also come to assert it in many of the social relations. In steamboat travel, in the public coaches and stages and in the public taverns or hotels, marked attention and favored treatment were seldom received by a person simply because he was wealthy or because he belonged to a certain family. In all such public relations the tendency was to treat all men alike.

(b) *Changes in Social Life; Dress; Amusements.*—The strongest factor in breaking down class distinctions in the North during the period of Westward Expansion and Slavery continued to be the growth and application of liberal democratic ideas. The coming of the railroads, however, was a factor of scarcely less importance. In the rush of commerce, trade, manufacturing and travel that the railroad helped to create, people had less time to think about class distinction. In the great material growth that took place during this period all men were equal. This equality in business relations tended to bring about equality in social relations. The railroads had a very strong influence also on the dress and amusements of the people. Rapid means of travel caused amusements and the styles of dress to become more alike throughout the country, though of course in these things many marked differences still existed. Especially was this true as between the cities and the country. The city population had increased from less than one million in 1828 to about five million in 1860. In the country, parties, dances, horse racing, field sports, barn raisings and husking parties were the principal forms of amusement. In the rapidly growing cities there was much gay social life. Parties, balls, clubs and theaters furnished the principal means of amusement. In the matter of dress, food and general comforts there was a distinct advance in

the North in both country and cities. The great mass of the people wore better clothes, ate better food and had more comforts. This was due to the rapid growth of manufactories and the railroads, which made it much easier for the people as a rule to secure more manufactured goods and a larger variety of food.

226. Government: (a) *Democratic Tendencies in National Government.*—During the period of Westward Expansion and Slavery the tendency of government was to become more democratic. The changes that took place in government during the period of National Growth and European Interference were of



FIREMEN AT WORK IN 1800

the same nature. The whole tendency of government, therefore, from 1789 to 1860, was toward democracy. By this is meant that the people demanded a more direct and more complete control of national, state and local government. They gradually secured this. The election of Jackson was their first great triumph. The organization of national nominating conventions, which resulted in active presidential campaigns, completed their control of the national government. As has already been explained, this was an entire change from the ideas of government that existed when Washington was first elected President.

(b) *Growth of Popular Control in State and Local Governments.*—Similar changes took place in state government. The

constitutions of the new western states were much more liberal and democratic than were those of the older states. Many of the constitutions of these western states provided that more officers be elected by the people, and in many cases the powers of the governor and legislature were limited. Changes of a like nature took place in the constitutions of the older states. Many of the older states during this period either amended their constitutions or adopted new ones, and in almost every case the people secured a more complete control of state government. The changes in local government were in the same direction. More of the local officials were elected directly by the people. At the beginning of this period the question of city government was not of great importance because the cities were small, but their rapid growth in the North caused city or municipal government to become of more and more importance. As in the case of state and county government, the government of cities was very democratic. It is worthy of special notice that the changes in state and local government in the older slave-holding states were much less democratic than in the other states. In 1860 South Carolina was the only state in which the people had not secured the right to elect presidential electors. In that state they were still chosen by the legislature. This slow growth of democratic ideas in the South was due, at least to a large extent, to the aristocratic ideas preserved by slavery. In fact, the South in some respects was becoming even more aristocratic.

(c) *Change in Manner of Selecting Judges.*—One phase in the growth of government toward democracy deserves most careful consideration. The changes made during this period in many of the state constitutions provided for the election of judges directly by the people, and usually for short terms. In most cases before this the state constitutions provided for their appointment, and usually for terms lasting for life or during good behavior. It will be remembered that all the judges in all of the United States courts, from the Supreme Court down to the District Courts, are appointed by the President and confirmed by the United States Senate. In this connection it is well to remember that the selection of judges is one of the most important questions before the American people. The legis-

lative department makes the laws, and the executive department executes the laws, but the judicial department interprets and applies the laws and decides whether or not they are in accordance with state and national constitutions. The life, the liberty and the property of every person are, to a certain extent, in the care and keeping of the courts. If the judges are dishonest, or if they are not learned and able, or if they can be influenced in their decisions except by what is just, the rights of no citizen are safe. No one should ever vote for a candidate



EDGAR ALLAN POE

for judge merely because that man happens to belong to his political party. In voting for a man for the position of judge, a voter should do everything possible to find out which of the candidates will make the best judge, and then vote for him without any regard to politics. The people cannot guard the judicial department of the government with too much care.

227. Religion.—About 1830 a great wave of religious enthusiasm, which was accompanied by a general reforming spirit, swept over the nation. This resulted in the rapid growth of nearly all

the church organizations. The membership of the different churches increased rapidly, and this tended to raise the standard of morals among the masses of the people. In the latter part of this period, slavery caused a division in some of the churches, and different branches were formed, the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church South being examples of this. The Mormon Church had its rise at this time, and the persecution of its members on account of their doctrines led to their migration into the West.

At first the Mormons settled in Illinois, but later they migrated to Utah, where they formed a government of their own.

228. Education:⁷² (a) *Public School System.*—As has already been stated, the United States for about thirty years after the beginning of the Revolution went backward in matters of education. From about 1810 to 1828 there was a gradual improvement in the public schools, and especially was this true in the western states. While this growth continued throughout



the period of Westward Expansion and Slavery, the improvement in the schools was not rapid. The number of elementary schools continued to increase, however, and many high schools, academies and colleges were established, in most of which good work was done. While the work done in these schools was much inferior to that done in similar schools to-day, it was becoming better and better. Such men as Horace Mann were devoting their time and best efforts to the improvement of the public schools, and by and by this excellent work was to result

in great good to education. Just before the Civil War the people began to demand better schools and a better system. As will be seen later, the earnest and unselfish work of a few able men caused a remarkable improvement in education after the Civil War. Too much credit cannot be given to those who work to make the public school system better. As is stated elsewhere in this book, a republic is safe only so long as the masses of the people are educated. Every boy and every girl should,



therefore, receive an education that will tend to develop the ability and desire to perform well the duties of American citizenship.

(b) *Improvement in General Literature and General Education.*—The improvement in general literature and general education was much greater than the improvement in the public schools. With the exception of Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper and William Cullen Bryant, there were no great American writers during the period of National Growth and European Interference. But the period of Westward

Expansion and Slavery saw a distinct and notable improvement in this respect. Irving, Cooper and Bryant did much of their best work after 1828. Hawthorne, Poe, Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, Holmes, Prescott, Parkman and others wrote during this period and produced much of the nation's best literature. The writings and the public lectures of these men did much to create right ideals, and to raise the standard of education and culture among the masses of the people. The



desire for learning and literature, which the work of these men created among the people, affected profoundly the growth of literature and education after the Civil War. It will be seen a little later that the Civil War, instead of checking the growth of industry, education and literature, stimulated growth along these lines beyond anything the nation had yet experienced. Especially was this true in regard to industrial conditions and education. The free public school system has been developed almost entirely since the Civil War, but the foundations for that growth were laid before then.

SUMMARY BY ADMINISTRATIONS

NOTE: The pupil should not be required to memorize the table given below; it is for reference only.

JACKSON
1829-1837

The Spoils System: Public office as a reward for party loyalty
Influence of the West: More power in the hands of the people
National Nominating Conventions First Called: Gave the people a voice in the choice of candidates
New Political Parties: Whigs and Democrats
"Exposition of South Carolina," 1828: A protest against the high tariff of 1828
Nullification in South Carolina, 1832: Tariff Act declared void
Jackson's War on the United States Bank: Declared it to be an "un-American monopoly"
Veto of Bank Charter, 1832
"Removal" of the Deposits, 1833: No more government money deposited in the United States Bank
"Pet Banks": State banks in which government money was deposited
Specie Circular, 1836: Payments for public lands must be in gold or silver
Independence of Texas, 1836: Texas wished to be admitted into the Union; postponed on account of slavery

VAN BUREN
1837-1841

Panic of 1837: Caused mainly by the financial policy of Jackson's administration
Independent Treasury Act, 1840: Separated government financial affairs from banks
Refusal of Van Buren to Annex Texas: On account of opposition of the North

HARRISON-TYLER
1841-1845

Death of President Harrison, April 4, 1841: First instance of a vice-president succeeding to the presidency
Annexation Treaty with Texas, 1845: Rejected by the Senate because of opposition of the Whig party and Tyler's method of negotiating it

POLK

1845-1849

- The Wilmot Proviso, 1845-1847*: A provision to exclude slavery from territory to be secured from Mexico; defeated but caused bitter feeling
- Fremont's Explorations in California, 1845*: Had trouble with the Mexican officials; later assisted in the conquest of California
- Oregon Treaty, 1846*: Settled the Northwest boundary dispute with England by compromising on the 49th parallel
- Tariff Act of 1846*: Tariff reduced practically to revenue basis
- The Mexican War, 1846-1848*
- Discovery of Gold in California, 1848*: Caused rapid immigration to California from all parts of the world

TAYLOR-FILLMORE

1849-1853

- Death of President Taylor, July 9, 1850*
- Compromise of 1850*: Admission of California and compromise of North and South on various questions concerning slavery
- Opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law*: This law one of the Compromise measures; openly violated in the North
- "Uncle Tom's Cabin"*: First published in book form in March, 1852; aroused opposition in the North to slavery
- Final Defeat of the Whig Party, 1852*: Failed to take a definite stand on the slavery question and stood for dead issues

PIERCE

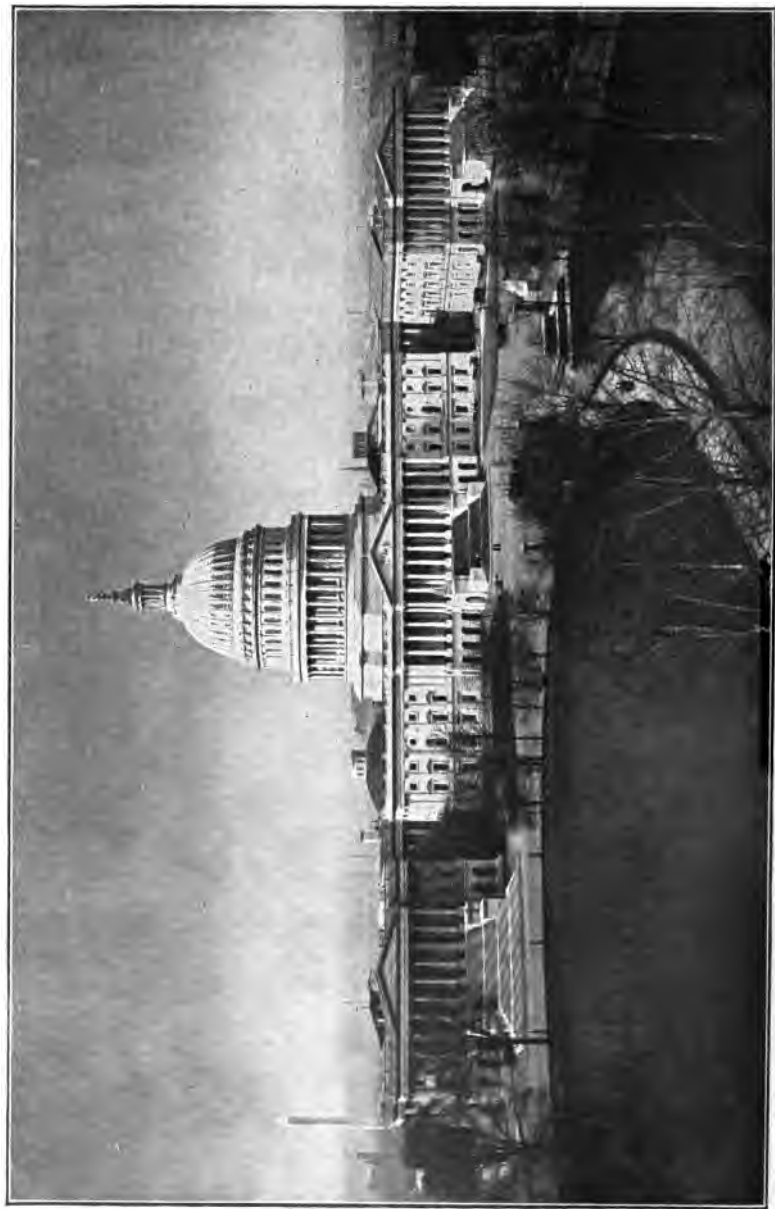
1853-1857

- Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 1854*: Repealed Missouri Compromise and, it was claimed, established doctrine of "Popular, or Squatter, Sovereignty"
- Border Warfare in Kansas*: Settlers from North and South contended for control of Kansas—those from the South to establish slavery; those from the North to prohibit it
- First National Campaign of Republican Party, 1856*: Defeated, but showed great strength for a new party

BUCHANAN

1857-1861

- Dred Scott Decision, 1857*: Had important bearing on question of extension of slavery; decision reversed by the Civil War
- Lincoln-Douglas Debates, 1858*: Profound effect on the slavery question
- Election of Lincoln, 1860*
- Secession of Southern States, December, 1860*
- Formation of the Southern Confederacy, February, 1861*



THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON
The Washington Monument in the distance

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

THE SHIP OF STATE

Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O UNION, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
We know what Master laid thy keel,
What Workman wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!
Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
'T is of the wave and not the rock;
'T is but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale!
In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee;
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee,—are all with thee!

—Henry W. Longfellow

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THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

SECESSION AND BEGINNINGS

- I. National Authority and States' Rights
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- I. Introductory
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SECESSION AND BEGINNINGS

229. National Authority and States' Rights:⁷³ (a) *As Viewed Before the Civil War.*—Everywhere in the United States at the present time, people agree that a state cannot withdraw or secede from the Union, and cannot disobey or nullify or set aside a national law. The American Civil War settled this question and the results of that war are accepted as completely and as loyally by the people in the southern part of the nation as they are by those in the northern part. But before the Civil War the question as to whether a state could or could not legally withdraw from the Union or nullify a national law, was a vital one. In discussing these points in his admirable treatise on the American Federal State, Professor Ashley says: "In 1789 we had a federal system nominally the same as it is now, but then we had States and a nation, now there is a Nation and states. Then all spoke of the states as sovereign, and of the central government as sovereign only in regard to the powers conferred upon it. A hundred years ago the right of secession was practically claimed by every section; to-day no state would dare to attempt to call withdrawal from the Union legal secession. In the early years of our history much was heard about nullification, but our present interest in the word is purely historical. Whatever we may think about the permanence of the states, one thing is assured: the Union will stand, growing stronger with the onward march of the centuries."

On some of these same points Professor Bryce, in his able and comprehensive work (*The American Commonwealth*) on American institutions, says: "What State sovereignty means and includes was a question which incessantly engaged the most active legal and political minds of the nation, from 1789 down to 1870. Some thought it paramount to the rights of the Union. Some considered it as held in suspense by the Constitution, but capable of reviving as soon as a State should desire to separate from the Union. Some maintained that each state had in accepting the Constitution finally renounced its sovereignty,

which thereafter existed only in the sense of such an undefined domestic legislative and administrative authority as had not been conferred upon Congress."

(b) *Formal Claims of States' Rights.*—It follows from the facts given above, that, from the adoption of the Constitution to the Civil War, the extent of the authority of the Federal government, and the extent of the rights or sovereignty of the states, were unsettled questions. As a matter of historical record, many of the nation's ablest men held, during that time, that a state had a legal right to withdraw from the Union, and many held that it had no such right. It is well to bear in mind, and very distinctly, that neither one of these views was restricted to any one section of the country. The theory of States' rights (which term, as used in the discussions that follow, refers exclusively to the right claimed by a state before the Civil War to withdraw from the Union or to declare a law of Congress unconstitutional or to nullify a national law within its borders) was first formally set forth in certain resolutions adopted by the legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky as a protest against the Alien and Sedition Acts. These resolutions are known as the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, those of Kentucky being passed in November, 1798, and November, 1799, and those of Virginia in December, 1798. The Kentucky resolutions, written by Jefferson, declared that each state had the power to declare a national law unconstitutional and to set it aside, while the Virginia resolutions, written by Madison, declared that all the states acting together could do this.

The next formal statement of the doctrine of States' rights was made in New England. In 1809 the legislature of Massachusetts passed resolutions that in spirit were the same as the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, but were mild as compared with the work of the Hartford Convention. The Massachusetts resolutions and the Hartford Convention were caused by the Embargo Acts and the War of 1812. As that war progressed, New England became still more opposed to it, and from a number of things that took place it seems quite probable that her leaders were contemplating some kind of armed resistance to the national government. In 1814 delegates from the various

New England states met in convention at Hartford, Connecticut, to consider plans for unity of action on the part of New England. This convention held its meetings behind closed doors, and passed resolutions declaring, among other things, that when the Constitution was violated by acts of Congress, it became the duty of a state to oppose the enforcement of such laws. The convention requested that a part of the United States revenues collected in New England be given to the states in that section for their defense. Commissioners were sent to Congress bearing these and other resolutions of similar nature, but peace having been declared before they reached Washington, they at once dropped the entire matter. The doctrines set forth in the resolutions passed by the Hartford Convention were much stronger than those contained in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, and had they been put into effect they would have practically destroyed the national government.

South Carolina was the next state to declare formally that a state had a legal right to nullify a national law. This her legislature did in 1828, in a set of resolutions against the tariff law enacted by Congress during the same year. These resolutions, like those of Virginia and Kentucky and like the work of the Hartford Convention, stated in substance that the Constitution was a mere compact or contract between the different states, and that the states had the right to decide whether or not a law enacted by Congress was constitutional, and whether or not they would obey or carry out such law. The last formal statement of this doctrine was made by those southern states that formed the Confederacy, when, in 1860-61, they passed resolutions of withdrawal from the Union.

(c) *The National Idea.*—As already stated, many of the ablest statesmen who lived during the period from the adoption of the constitution to the Civil War, believed that a state did not have the legal right to secede from the Union or to nullify a national law. They gave many strong and excellent reasons for this belief. The Constitution, they maintained, must be considered as having been adopted by the people of the United States acting together as a whole, as indicated by the fact that it was not adopted by the state legislatures, but by special con-

ventions the members of which were elected by the people for this special purpose. The Constitution, therefore, was adopted not by the states as states, but by the people of each state, and therefore in substance by the people of the United States. This was the purpose and intention of those who made and adopted the Constitution. The preamble does not say that, We the States of the United States do so and so, but it says, "We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." Nor does the Constitution provide that the national government shall act upon the people through the states, but it provides that the laws of the United States shall act directly upon each individual citizen. The Constitution makes it the duty of the President to take care that the laws of the United States are carried out faithfully; and therefore when a state law interferes or conflicts with a national law, the national law must prevail over the state law, for otherwise the President could not enforce the national law. The Constitution creates a judicial department that decides—when the question is properly brought before it—whether or not a law passed by Congress is in accordance with the Constitution. And finally the Constitution itself provides a method whereby it may be amended or changed.

Many of those who upheld the National idea maintained that the Union was older than the Constitution, because when the colonies declared their independence of Great Britain they gave, by mutual consent, most of those powers necessary to an independent nation to the Continental Congress, and later, to the Congress provided for by the Articles of Confederation. Lincoln and Jackson were among those who believed that the Union was older than the Constitution, and that not for a single moment did any one of the states exist as a sovereign and independent state. Jackson said: "Under the royal government we had no separate character; our opposition to its oppressions began as United Colonies. We were the United States under the Confederation, and the name was perpetuated, and the Union rendered

more perfect, by the Federal Constitution. In none of these stages did we consider ourselves in any other light than as forming one nation."

(d) *The States' Rights Idea*.—Until the question was finally settled by the Civil War, many of the nation's ablest men, as already noted, believed that a state had the legal right to withdraw or secede from the Union. They gave many strong and excellent reasons for this belief. The Constitution, they maintained, was not adopted by the people of the United States, acting together as a whole, but by sovereign and independent states, acting separately as states, and that as many as nine states would never have ratified it if the people had not believed that a state could withdraw from the Union if it so desired. "As an historical fact—entirely apart from legal and theoretical considerations—it is undoubtedly true that this was the view of the voters whose consent gave the Constitution its validity: the voters of each state regarded themselves as perfectly at liberty to enter the new Union or not as they saw fit, and if they had supposed for an instant that once in the Union withdrawal would be impossible, it is probable that nine states would never have ratified the Constitution." The people of one of these sovereign states, therefore, having, through a convention of their representatives, entered into an agreement or union with other sovereign states, could withdraw from that union or agreement by simply holding another convention and repealing the ordinance by which they had made said agreement.

It was further maintained by the advocates of the doctrine of States' rights, that the very nature of the Federal government was evidence of the fact that the states were sovereign and independent in most respects. In nearly all nations, the national government has power and authority over all matters, although for the purpose of better administration it may and does grant certain powers to the subdivisions of the nation, the same as a state in our nation grants certain powers to its subdivisions known as county, township, city and school district. Our national government, however, unlike the national governments of most other nations, has only the powers which were granted it by the states, and those powers are specified in the Constitu-

tion. These facts, and those set forth in the preceding paragraph, were pointed to, by those who believed in States' rights, as evidence: (a) that each state, when it became independent of Great Britain, possessed all powers of government, or, in other words, was sovereign or independent; (b) that each state, in agreement with the other states, created the Federal government and gave it the powers specified in the Constitution; (c) that the Constitution was an agreement or compact between sovereign states, and that a state, when in its opinion that agreement had been violated by another state or the Federal government, had the right to take back the powers with which it had parted by ratifying the Constitution.

(e) *Growth of the National Idea and the States' Rights Idea.*

—The idea that the Federal government was supreme and that a state therefore could not nullify a national law or withdraw from the Union became more and more generally accepted in the North as time went on, and a belief in States' rights became more and more general in the South. The conditions and forces that caused the growth of the National idea in the North and prevented its growth in the South have already been rather fully discussed, and they will not, therefore, here be re-stated. The effect of foreign immigration, however, has not been noted. Nearly all the immigrants from Europe settled in the North. As they came from nations where the national government was supreme and where the doctrine of States' rights, therefore, had no existence whatever, they naturally, when they came to the United States, considered the Federal government supreme and cared little about state boundaries or state rights. Their influence, and that of their children, helped to build up a national feeling in the North. In the great debate between Webster and Hayne in 1830 on the nature of the Federal government, Webster stated the National idea of the Constitution clearly and made a strong argument in its defense, and Hayne made a strong and vigorous defense of the States' rights idea. This debate created great interest throughout the entire nation. Webster's views of the Constitution were received with pleasure and approval by the northern people, but the able arguments of Hayne in favor of States' rights were received with equal

pleasure and approval by the southern people. From this time on to the Civil War, the belief in States' rights became stronger and stronger in the South and the National idea of the Constitution as opposed to States' rights became stronger in the North.

230. Secession and Formation of the Confederacy.—As the main or fundamental causes of the American Civil War, and the political events that led to it directly, have already been discussed and developed rather fully, it is necessary at this point to note only the act of secession and a few of the conditions that caused the South to secede at the time it did. The important question in the presidential campaign of 1860 was the extension of slavery into the western territories. During this campaign, Lincoln and the other Republican leaders denied any intention to interfere with slavery in any state, but they declared emphatically that Congress should prohibit it in all the territories. The carrying out of this view meant that slavery would never exist west of Texas, Arkansas and Missouri, and north of the Ohio. By electing Lincoln the people of the North, therefore, decided that there should be no further extension of slavery. The South saw clearly what this meant. The southern people believed that their defeat was final. They looked into the future and saw the great West divided into free states, and themselves hopelessly out-voted in Congress. They believed that this huge majority from the free states would finally attack slavery in the southern states, and to them this meant an attack on self-government. It seemed to them that in this opposition to their rights, some of the northern states had recently put into effect the doctrine of nullification, and that the Republican party had declared its intention to disobey a decision of the Supreme Court. As evidence of the latter they pointed to the fact that the national platform of the Republican party demanded that Congress prohibit slavery in the territories, when, by the Dred Scott Decision, the Supreme Court had already decided that Congress did not have the power to interfere with slavery in those territories. As evidence of the former, they cited the "personal liberty" laws that many of the northern states had passed for the express purpose of interfering with the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, which was a national law.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

AFTER A
PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1864

This attitude of the North, and the triumph of the Republican party, helped to confirm the southern people in the belief that finally they would be compelled either to submit to the destruction of slavery and surrender the right of self-government, or put into effect their belief in the right of a state to secede. Believing this, they did not hesitate as to what their decision should be. South Carolina was the first state to take definite action. On December 20, 1860, her state convention, which had been called and elected for the special purpose of considering this question, passed a resolution declaring that South Carolina was no longer a part of the United States. Within six weeks Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas had taken similar action, and thus seven states had formally withdrawn from the Union. On February 4, 1861, delegates from all but one of these states (the delegates from Texas had not yet arrived) met at Montgomery, Alabama, and organized a government which they called the Confederate States of America. This convention elected Jefferson Davis acting or provisional President, and Alexander H. Stephens acting or provisional Vice President. Davis and Stephens were afterwards elected to the same positions by the people of the Confederacy. The senators and representatives from these states resigned their positions in the National Congress, and thus seven states completed, so far as they were able, their separation from the Union.

There has been in the past a tendency among some to question the sincerity of the southern people in their relation to the Civil War. It has also been maintained by some that the object of this war on the part of the South was to preserve slavery, and on the part of the North to destroy it. Of course, such men as Lincoln and Grant and Roosevelt, in fact, all those who have studied the subject carefully, give the southern people credit for absolute sincerity, and do not believe that the war was begun for either the preservation or destruction of slavery. In his second inaugural address, Lincoln said that when the war began neither the North nor the South thought that it would result in the destruction of slavery. Slavery, it is true, was the main or basic cause of the war. It caused industrial and social conditions to remain almost stationary in the South, and thus



JEFFERSON DAVIS

kept alive and emphasized in that part of the nation the States' rights theory of the Constitution. It also brought about the political events and the misunderstandings that led the southern people to believe that some of their constitutional rights were being attacked, and this caused the South to appeal to the States' rights theory and secede. But while slavery was thus the basic cause of the Civil War, that war was not begun for the purpose of either preserving or destroying it. In his inaugural address referred to above, Lincoln, in referring to this point, and to the sincerity of the southern people, said: "Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with or even before the conflict should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other." In this same connection, President Roosevelt, in a Memorial Day address at Portsmouth, Virginia, said: "Moreover, the men to whose valor we owe it that the Union was preserved have left us a country reunited in fact as well as in name. They have left us the memory of the great deeds and the self devotion alike of the men who wore the blue and of the men who wore the gray in the contest where brother fought brother with equal courage, with equal sincerity of conviction, with equal fidelity to a high ideal, as it was given to each to see that ideal."

231. Beginnings: (a) *National Property in the Confederacy.*—After the southern states had seceded they began to take possession of the forts, arsenals and other United States property within their borders. President Buchanan made no real attempt to prevent this. When Lincoln, on March 4, 1861, took the oath of office prescribed by the Constitution, he stated in his address that he had no intention whatever of interfering with slavery where it already existed; but he maintained that no state could legally withdraw from the Union, and that he proposed to hold all the national property and to enforce the national laws in all the states. He also said in his address that he hoped there would be no bloodshed or trouble of any kind, and that if any occurred, it would be forced upon the national

authority. By his oath of office and in accordance with his interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, Lincoln was bound to do what he said he intended to do. On the other hand, the Confederate States of America were bound to drive from their borders the authority of the United States, for they could ~~not be a nation and at the same time~~ permit the laws of the United States to be enforced within their borders. This condition of affairs, of course, meant civil war, the only question being as to which side would make the first attack. Lincoln's policy compelled the Confederacy to fire the first shot.

(b) *The Fall of Fort Sumter.*—Fort Sumter, in South Carolina, was one of the few forts in the Confederacy that still remained in control of the national government. Lincoln decided to send food and supplies to this fort. When the government of the Confederacy learned this, it ordered the Confederate general Beauregard to demand of Major Anderson, who was in command of the fort, that he surrender it. Anderson refused. The Confederate army then opened a heavy cannon fire on the fort. This was on April 12, 1861. Two days later Anderson was compelled to surrender, although no one had been killed or even seriously wounded on either side.

The attack on Fort Sumter aroused and united the people of the North. The question of slavery at once sank out of sight. The northern people demanded that the honor of the flag be maintained, and that the Union be preserved. The day after the surrender, Lincoln issued a proclamation in which he requested the states to raise seventy-five thousand soldiers in order that he might be able to enforce the national laws in the Confederacy. Lincoln's call for soldiers for use against the Confederacy aroused and united the people of the South, and caused them also to forget the question of slavery. The great mass of the southern people were now convinced that the North intended to destroy their rights and liberties. This belief united them in the determination that no northern army should ever invade the South. During April and May, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas withdrew from the Union and joined the Confederacy. The capital of the Confederate States was now removed to Richmond, Virginia. The northwestern part of that state, however,

refused to join the Confederacy, and in 1863 it was admitted to the Union as the state of West Virginia.

It is very difficult for those who were not living during the Civil War to understand fully the intense excitement and bitter feeling which the attack on Fort Sumter and Lincoln's first call for soldiers created in both the North and the South. The editorials and the articles that appeared in the newspapers and magazines at that time indicate that the feeling could hardly have been much stronger or the excitement much more intense. The Federal government and the Confederate government each



THE BOMBARDMENT OF FORT SUMTER

began to raise and equip armies. Many more men wished to become soldiers than were desired or could be accepted. Very few people, however, thought the war would last long, and each side expected an easy victory over the other. The people of both sections were soon to realize their mistake.

(c) *Battle of Bull Run.*—A Union army attacked a Confederate army at a little town in Virginia called Manassas Junction, which is about thirty-five miles southwest of Washington on a little creek called Bull Run. This battle, known as the battle of Bull Run, was a complete and decisive victory for the Confederates. The Union army fled in confusion from the field.

The result of this battle caused the national government and the people of the North to realize for the first time that they must prepare for a great war if they wished to force the Confederate states back into the Union. The North was now more determined than ever to do this. Congress at once directed Lincoln to raise and equip an army of five hundred thousand men. At first many of the southern people thought that the battle of Bull Run would end the war; but when they saw the North raising immense armies, they also began to realize for the first time the real nature of the conflict that was just beginning. The Confederate government hastened the organization and equipment of great armies in order to meet those being organized in the North. The battle of Bull Run, therefore, was quite important, because it taught the people that a great war was at hand, and caused the national government and the Confederate government each to begin gigantic preparations for that great struggle.

232. Resources of the North and the South. (a) *Financial and Industrial Resources.*—In the matter of financial resources, the North had a great advantage over the South. The money of the South consisted almost entirely of that received for the cotton, tobacco, rice and corn she exported to the North and to Europe. After the Federal navy blockaded the southern ports, this source of wealth was destroyed. Hard money—that is, gold and silver—soon became very scarce in the South, and one of the most difficult questions the government of the Confederacy was called upon to solve was the question of securing enough money to maintain her armies in the field in good condition. This she did not fully succeed in doing. She issued paper money, as did the Continental Congress during the Revolution, and like the Continental currency, Confederate money depreciated in value and soon became almost worthless. Worthless money, lack of manufactories and the blockade of her ports destroyed the business of the South and caused great suffering among the people and among the Confederate soldiers. The Federal government, on the other hand, was able to secure enough money to equip and maintain her armies in the field in excellent condition as compared with the condition of the southern armies. She secured this money by taxation, by the sale of more than

one billion dollars in bonds, and by issuing about five hundred million dollars in paper money and more than five hundred and fifty million dollars in interest-bearing notes, the latter being another form of paper money. The bonds were sold without much difficulty, and although paper money depreciated in value, a dollar in gold was never worth as much as three dollars in paper money and during most of the war a gold dollar was worth less than two of paper money. At this point the question may arise as to why the government of the Confederacy could not have sold as many bonds as did the national government, and kept its paper money worth as much. The reason was simply a matter of faith on the part of the people. The people did not believe that the Confederate government would ever be able to redeem its bonds and paper money, and they did believe that the national government would be able to redeem the bonds and paper money it had issued. The question may also arise as to why the Confederate government did not raise money by taxation as did the Federal government. It did raise some in this way; but as business in the South was almost ruined, the people did not have gold and silver to pay in taxes, and the almost worthless paper money was of scarcely any value to the government. In the North, on the other hand, business and wealth and population actually increased during the war.

(b) *Military Supplies and Available Soldiers*.—The larger part of the government's military supplies had been stored in southern arsenals before the beginning of the war, and the Southerners took possession of these arsenals as soon as the war began. Because of this the South at first had more military supplies than did the North. But this was only for a short time. The great manufacturing establishments of the North soon enabled the Federal government to secure an ample supply of war material, while an almost total lack of manufactories in the South, and the blockade of the southern ports by the Federal navy, soon produced a great scarcity of war material in the southern states.

In population the North also had a great advantage. The total population of the United States in 1860 was about thirty-one millions. The white population of those southern states that

seceded and united to form the Confederate States of America was less than six millions, while the white population of the states that supported the national government was more than twenty millions. This gave the North a great advantage, because she could, if necessary, raise fully three times as many soldiers as could the South. But while the Federal armies were usually larger than the Confederate armies, the North raised fewer soldiers in proportion to white population than did the South.

(c) *Means of Transportation.*—In the means of transporting troops, war material, food and other supplies, the North had a great advantage over the South. As compared with the large and increasing network of excellent railroads in the North, the South had but few, and these were not well equipped. Nor did she have the material and the skilled workmen to keep in good repair those she did have. The Federal government had little trouble in transporting soldiers and supplies from one part of the country to another; but the Confederate states, on the other hand, found it very difficult to do this. In some parts of the South the people actually suffered because the means of transporting food to them from those parts of the South where it existed in abundance were so poor. For this same reason the Confederate soldiers often did not have enough to eat.

(d) *Summary.*—It is plain from what has been stated, that during the entire war the North in matters of business, wealth and general prosperity increased rapidly, and that in all these matters the Confederacy—a great deal weaker than the North at the beginning of the war—became weaker and weaker as the war progressed. It was during this war that the national government loaned more than fifty million dollars to the corporation that built the first railroad between California and the East. When the small white population of the Confederacy and her small available resources are compared with the large white population of the North and her immense resources, the wonder is that the Confederate government was able to maintain the war as long as it did. Nothing but the patriotism and bravery of their soldiers ever enabled the Southerners to do so. They were Americans and were fighting for what they believed to be right.

233. Military Leaders.—There were many men of military training in both the North and the South, and a few of great military genius; but the ablest military leaders of the North did not secure command of the Federal armies until several years after the war began, while the southern armies were commanded by the ablest southern generals from the very first. Foremost among Confederate commanders was Robert E. Lee. He was a native of Virginia, and a son of "Light Horse" Harry Lee of the Revolution, whose mother was a sweetheart of Washington in his youthful days. Lee's military record gives him a place among the world's greatest commanders. When the Civil War began, he was an officer in the army of the United States; but when his native state seceded, he felt that it was his duty to follow her and defend the cause she had taken up. The successes of the army of Northern Virginia were due in no small degree to his military genius. He was a man of high and noble character, and while he scarcely knew what personal fear meant, his nature and disposition were kind and generous. In speaking of his refusal, after the surrender at Appomattox, to request the other Confederate generals to surrender, Grant says of this great southern commander: "I knew there was no use to urge him to do anything against his ideas of what was right." Many of the other great men of the nation have praised General Lee, as Grant did, because of his character, ability and honesty of purpose, all of which indicates that he is held in high esteem by leading Americans—North as well as South.

Second in ability only to Lee, among Confederate commanders, were Joseph E. Johnston, Albert Sidney Johnston and Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson. All of these were men of high character and great military genius. Of these three commanders the former alone lived through the war, Albert Sidney Johnston being killed in April, 1862, at the battle of Pittsburg Landing, and Jackson in May, 1863, at the battle of Chancellorsville. The death of these two men was an irreparable loss to the southern cause. Johnston was in command of the Confederate forces in the west, and Jackson was one of Lee's ablest and most trusted commanders. There were more than a score of other able Confederate officers, but space will not permit of their discussion.



ROBERT E. LEE

Foremost among the Federal commanders was Ulysses S. Grant. He was among those who saw clearly from the very first that the Civil War was to be a gigantic struggle. Like Lincoln, he had no feeling of anger whatever against the people of the Confederacy, for he recognized the fact that they were no less sincere than he, and on this point said: "One side or the other had to yield principles they considered dearer than life itself before the war could be brought to an end." Grant's military record gives him a place among the world's greatest commanders. He was successful in every campaign he undertook. His success was due in a large measure to his good common sense and determination of purpose. He planned his work easily and with great common sense, and carried out the plans of his most important battles and campaigns as quietly and calmly as a business man carries out an everyday business transaction. His promotion from a small command to the position of lieutenant-general or commander in chief was due in no respect to political influence or favoritism. In fact, during the first part of the war these influences were against him, and he was treated unjustly by his superior officers, and unjustly criticised in many ways. He did not complain, however, but performed his duty faithfully. His rapid advance in command was due to his uniform success, and to that alone.

Second in ability only to Grant, among Federal commanders, were William T. Sherman, George H. Thomas and Philip H. Sheridan. Next to Grant, Sherman was the greatest Union commander. Grant and he were close friends, and were together during the greater part of the war. Sherman had the ability to plan extensive campaigns and to carry them out successfully. Grant had complete confidence in him and gave him command of all the Federal forces in the West during the last year of the war. Both Thomas and Sheridan showed great military genius and rendered splendid service to the Union cause. There were more than a score of other able Federal officers, but space will not permit of their discussion.

It is important for the teacher and pupil, whether in the North or in the South, to bear in mind very clearly that there was no difference, taken as a whole, in the ability or courage or sincerity



ULYSSES S. GRANT

of purpose between Federal commanders and soldiers and Confederate commanders and soldiers. Those on both sides were engaged in a desperate struggle for principles they held dear. In many instances, brother fought against brother and father against son. Men do not do this unless they are in deadly earnest. Roosevelt gave clear expression to these facts when he said that the Civil War was a "contest where brother fought brother with equal courage, with equal sincerity of conviction, with equal fidelity to a high ideal, as it was given to each to see that ideal."

CAMPAIGNS

234. Introductory.—The campaigns of the Civil War were so extensive and included so many battles that it requires a book of at least four or five hundred pages to give them even a fair treatment. In a history of the United States for grammar school use they can be outlined only in a general way. In the discussions that follow an attempt is made to give a clear idea of the purpose, more important battles and results of those campaigns that had an important bearing on the final result of the war. This means that no reference is made to some of the smaller battles and campaigns, or to the individual records of some officers. Some of these are important from the purely personal and military point of view, but the best interest of the pupil requires that they be sacrificed in order that he may receive the benefit of a clear and continuous treatment of those campaigns that were vital in the struggle. To study the important campaigns in this way, is of far more value to the pupil than for him to read through a mass of disconnected facts and details.⁷⁴

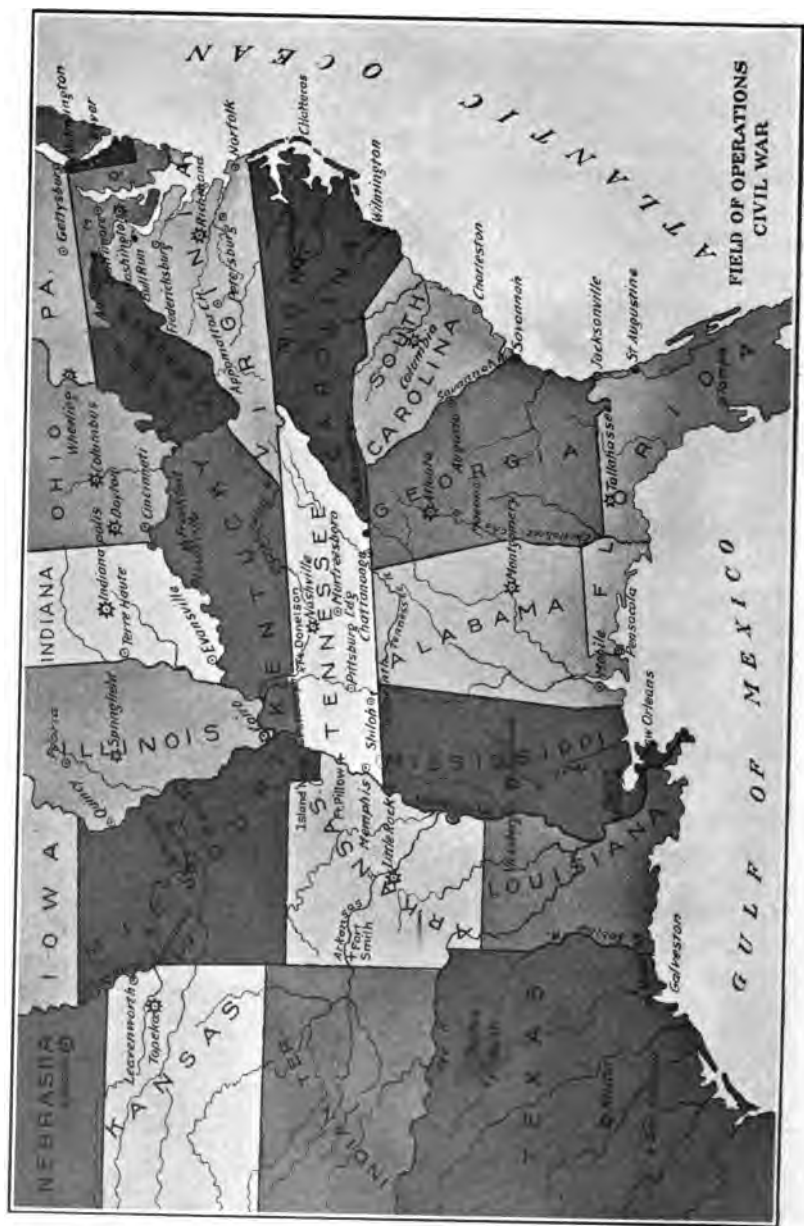
235. Object and Nature of Campaigns: (a) *Organization and Work of Northern Armies.*—The object of the national government was to defeat the Confederate armies, invade the Confederacy and compel the seceded states to come back into the Union. To accomplish this, the North built a navy and organized the great Army of the Potomac and a number of great armies in the West. The Army of the Potomac was to defend

Washington and capture Richmond. The armies of the West were to secure control of the Mississippi and thus separate the Confederate states of Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas from the other Confederate states, drive the Confederate armies out of Kentucky and Tennessee, and invade the Confederate states farther south. The navy was to blockade all the southern ports, so as to prevent the Confederacy from securing any assistance or supplies from other nations.

(b) *Organization and Work of Southern Armies.*—The object of the Confederate government was to defeat the northern armies and compel the national government to permit the seceded states to become an independent nation. To accomplish this, the South organized the great Army of Northern Virginia and a number of great western armies. The western armies were to oppose and defeat the northern armies in the West. The Army of Northern Virginia was to oppose and defeat the Army of the Potomac. In one respect the Army of Northern Virginia differed from all the northern armies and from all the other southern armies. It was the only one that had the same commander during almost the entire war. Robert E. Lee was its commander.

(c) *Method of Treatment.*—In order to add clearness to the treatment of the land campaigns of the Civil War, they will be discussed under these three general heads: (a) *the Eastern Campaign*; (b) *the Western Campaign*; (c) *the Campaign of 1864-1865*. The Eastern Campaign will include the contest between the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia to the time Grant became commander in chief of the Union armies, which was in March, 1864; the Western Campaign will include the war in the West up to that time; and the Campaign of 1864-1865 will include the work of Grant as commander in chief. In order to make the treatment of these campaigns more logical, the Eastern Campaign will be taken up first.

236. The Eastern Campaign: (a) *The First Advance on Richmond.*—Soon after the battle of Bull Run, in July, 1861, General McClellan was placed in command of the Army of the Potomac. He was directed to capture Richmond. He devoted about seven months to organizing and drilling his army. By the latter part of February, 1862, he had a well organized and



equipped army of about one hundred and seventy-five thousand men. Two plans were proposed for reaching Richmond. The authorities at Washington thought that the better plan was for the army to march directly south. But McClellan objected to this because of the many rivers it would be necessary to cross, and because the Confederates had erected strong fortifications between the Potomac and Richmond. He advised that the army be transferred by water to Yorktown, Virginia, and from there proceed against the capital of the Confederacy. McClellan's plan was at last accepted by Lincoln and his advisers.

About seventy-five thousand men were retained for the protection of Washington, and an army of about one hundred thousand under the command of McClellan was landed near Yorktown. Much valuable time was consumed in the capture of that city, but at last the Army of the Potomac began its advance on Richmond. A number of severe battles were fought, in which the losses on both sides were heavy. The Union forces came within about ten miles of the Con-



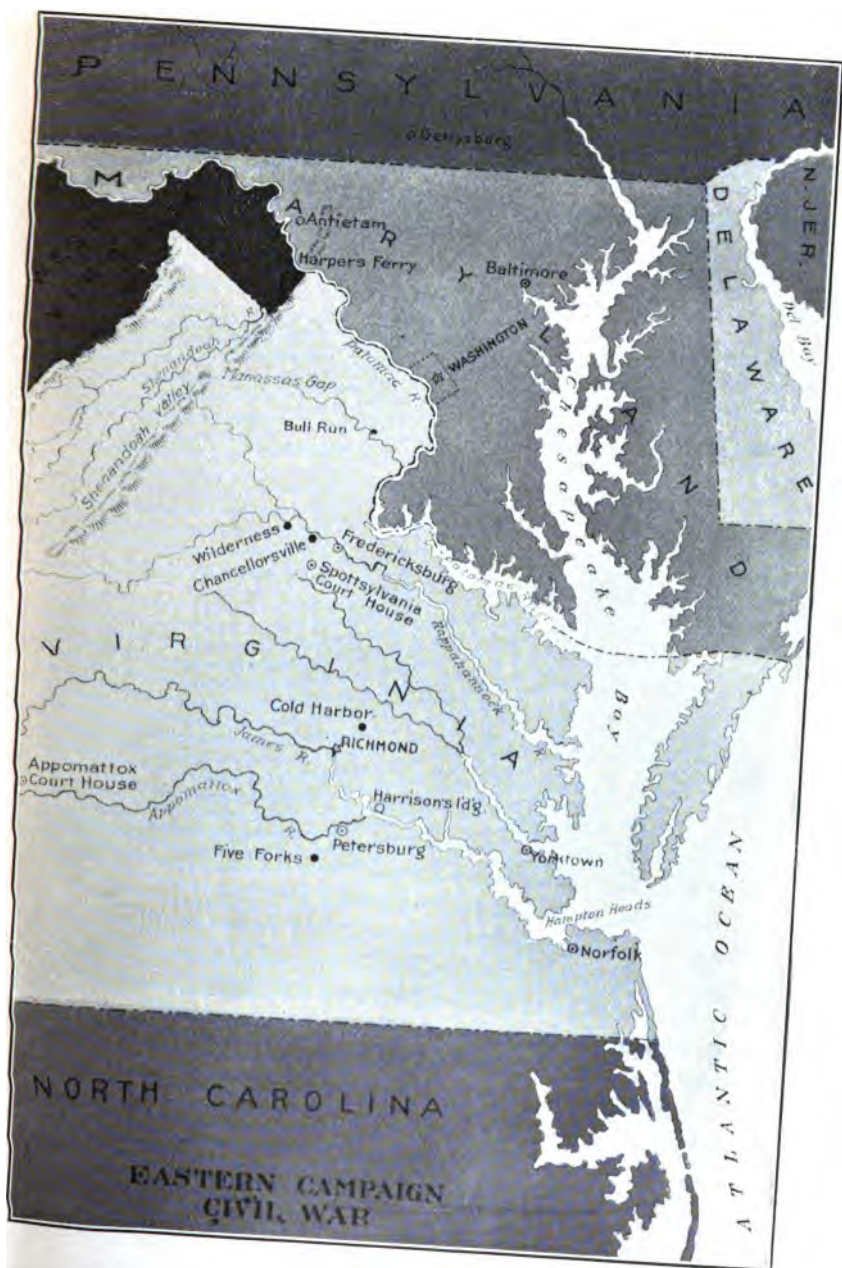
THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON

federate capital, but McClellan retreated to Harrison's Landing on the James River, although his army was larger than the army under Lee. Meanwhile General Stonewall Jackson marched up the Shenandoah Valley with a division of Lee's army, and in several battles completely defeated several divisions of the Union army. Lee had instructed Jackson to attempt the capture of the city of Washington, or at least threaten to do so, in order to induce the national government to bring back McClellan's army for the defense of that city. This is actually what Jackson's success caused the authorities at Washington to do. In August, McClellan and his army sailed for the north, and thus the first

attempt to capture Richmond ended in a complete failure. The total loss on both sides as a result of the fighting around Richmond was nearly forty thousand.

(b) *The Battles of Bull Run, Antietam and Fredericksburg.*—No sooner had Lee got rid of McClellan's army on the James River than he marched rapidly northward, joined forces with Jackson, and in the second battle of Bull Run, on August 29-30, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Union army, now under the command of General Pope. Lee then marched into Maryland for the purpose of invading the North. The combined Union army, which had again been placed under the command of General McClellan, met him at Antietam. In the battle that followed the Union loss was about twelve thousand and the Confederate loss about ten thousand. After this bloody battle Lee retreated into Virginia and erected fortifications near Fredericksburg, just south of the Rappahannock. Burnside, who had been placed in command of the Army of the Potomac, after the battle of Antietam, attacked Lee in this strong position on December 13, and was defeated with a loss of more than thirteen thousand men, the Confederate loss being less than five thousand. This battle ended the Eastern Campaign for the year 1862. The attempt of the Army of the Potomac to invade Virginia and capture Richmond had failed. In fact, the army had met with a number of serious defeats.

(c) *Emancipation Proclamation.*—In the face of these defeats Lincoln took a firm stand on the slavery question so far as slavery in the Confederacy was concerned. On September 22, 1862, he issued a proclamation in which he stated that all slaves would be free in all those states or parts of states that should still be carrying on war against the national government, on the first day of January, 1863. When that day came, he issued another proclamation setting free all slaves in the Confederacy except in those parts that were then occupied and controlled by the national government. The proclamation did not affect slavery in any way in the slave states of Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, because they had not seceded from the Union. Nor did it affect slavery in Tennessee and some parts of several other Confederate states, because that territory



was under the control of the national government on January 1, 1863. It did not abolish slavery in any part of the Confederacy. The proclamation simply freed those negroes who were held as slaves on January 1, 1863, in all parts of the Confederacy that were under the control of the Confederate government at that time. If the Confederacy should be forced back into the Union, slavery might again be established in all this territory, but the slaves freed could not be re-enslaved. The Emancipation Proclamation, therefore, was strictly a military measure. As commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, Lincoln freed the slaves in the Confederate states in order to injure the Confederacy and hasten the end of the war.

But in spite of the Emancipation Proclamation being a military measure, the people of the United States and the people of other nations soon came to believe that the success of the Union armies meant the abolition of slavery in America. This created a stronger sentiment in favor of the North and weakened the position of the Confederacy. Personally, Lincoln strongly desired the total abolition of slavery in all parts of the United States. He induced Congress to pass a resolution offering to pay three hundred dollars for every slave in all the loyal slave states. None of these states, however, would accept the offer and abolish slavery. On April 16, 1862, Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, and paid the owners three hundred dollars for each slave. The slave-holders in the loyal slave states were finally compelled to free all their slaves without any compensation, because soon after the war was over an amendment made to the Constitution abolished slavery in all parts of the United States, and no provision was made for any payment whatever.

(d) *Battles of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg.*—After the battle of Fredericksburg, Hooker was placed in command of the Army of the Potomac. Toward the latter part of April he moved across the Rappahannock for the purpose of attacking Lee in his fortified position near Fredericksburg. Although Lee had but a few more than half as many men as Hooker, he attacked the Union army on May 1, at Chancellorsville, and in a three days' battle drove it back across the river in utter defeat. Stonewall Jackson was accidentally killed in this battle by his own men.

He was one of the best beloved of the southern generals and his death was a serious loss to the Confederate army, as he was one of Lee's ablest commanders.

After his victory over Hooker, Lee decided to attempt for the second time the invasion of the North. General Meade was given command of the Union army. On July 1 the Union and Confederate armies met at Gettysburg in Pennsylvania. The battle raged for three days, and resulted in the defeat of the Confed-



SCENE AT BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

erate army. It was the greatest battle of the Civil War, and among the greatest of the world's battles. The fighting on both sides was heroic. The total loss in killed and wounded was over fifty thousand, or more than one fourth of all those engaged. Lee retreated into Virginia and endeavored to secure more soldiers for his shattered army.

(e) *Summary of Eastern Campaign.*—There were no other important battles in the East until the spring of 1864, when General Grant was placed in command of all the Union forces. By that time almost three years had passed since the first battle of

Bull Run. During this time the national government had not been successful in the invasion of Virginia, and the Army of the Potomac had suffered a number of reverses. Gettysburg was the only serious defeat the Army of Northern Virginia had suffered, and that was serious only because Lee was unable to secure enough soldiers to take the place of those lost. The South was becoming exhausted, not only in supplies and money, but also in men for enlistment in the army. It is not easy to say to what



HOUSE IN WHICH "STONEWALL" JACKSON DIED

extent the success of the Army of Northern Virginia, during the first three years of the war, was due to the fact that the Army of the Potomac had five different commanders. The fact that the Confederate army was under the command of General Lee during nearly all of this time had a great deal to do with the reverses and defeats the Union army suffered. At this point it is interesting to turn to the West and see what was taking place there between the opposing armies during the time the two eastern armies had been engaged in this desperate struggle.

237. The Western Campaign: (a) *Introductory*.—As has already been stated, the work of the Union armies in the West was to secure control of the Mississippi and occupy Kentucky, Tennessee and the Confederate states farther south. The work of the Confederate armies in the West was to prevent the Union army from doing this. The Western Campaign was almost as important to each side as was the Eastern Campaign. If the Confederacy lost control of the Mississippi and could not prevent the Federal armies from occupying Kentucky, Tennessee and the states farther south, she could hardly hope for final success in the struggle. For her to lose control of the Mississippi, meant the separation of Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas from the other Confederate states. This would of itself be a very serious loss. It would interfere seriously with the assistance that these states were rendering the Confederacy and would prevent the securing of military supplies by way of Mexico.

Lincoln saw clearly these results and was very anxious for the Federal forces to secure control of the Mississippi. He urged the western commanders to use every effort to accomplish this. The Confederate authorities also appreciated fully the importance of the Western Campaign and the great value to them of retaining control of the Mississippi. Because of these conditions, both the Federal and Confederate authorities put forth special efforts to gain an advantage in the West. It will be seen later that the first decisive results of the war were secured in this western country. Here were developed some of the greatest commanders, and here were fought many of the greatest battles of the war. The deeds of patriotism and devotion done on either side in this Western Campaign would fill several large volumes, but because of space the discussion in this book must be restricted to those campaigns that had an important influence on the final results of the war.

(b) *Capture of Forts Donelson and Henry*.—At first the Union and Confederate forces faced each other on a line extending from Cairo, Illinois, almost due eastward across the state of Kentucky. In the early part of 1862 Grant was placed in command of a small Union force in the West. In February, Grant with the assistance of Commodore Foote moved against Fort



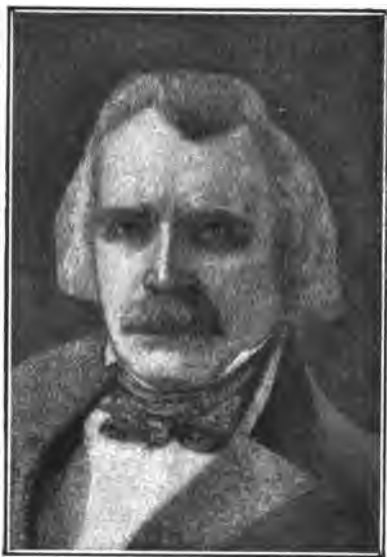
Henry and Fort Donelson. Both of these forts were just south of the Kentucky line. Fort Henry was on the Tennessee River about fifty miles from where it empties into the Ohio River; and Fort Donelson was situated on the Cumberland a short distance southeast of Fort Henry. It was very important that the Union forces get control of these forts, because their possession would give the Union gunboats control of the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, and the gunboats would be of great assistance to the Union army in securing control of the state of Tennessee. Foote with his fleet of gunboats captured Fort Henry. Grant attacked Fort Donelson. After three days' fighting, Buckner, the commander of the Confederate forces asked Grant what terms of surrender he would offer. Grant replied: "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender will be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." Buckner surrendered the fort and his army of fifteen thousand men. Thus Grant, on the 16th of February, won the first great Union victory.



WILLIAM T. SHERMAN

(c) *Island No. 10; Battle of Pittsburg Landing; Corinth and Memphis.*—Halleck now moved his army in several divisions southward toward Corinth in Mississippi. One division moved down the west bank of the Mississippi and assisted Foote with his gunboats in the capture of Island No. 10, which the Confederates had fortified in order to prevent the Union forces from securing control of the Mississippi. Grant with his division of the army marched south from Fort Donelson across the state of Tennessee. On April 6 he was attacked by a Confederate army under Albert Sidney Johnston.

This battle was fought near the southern boundary of Tennessee, on the Tennessee River at a place called Pittsburg Landing, about one hundred miles east of the Mississippi. The battle of Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh, lasted about two days and resulted in the defeat of the Confederate army and in the death of General Johnston. It was one of the most hotly contested battles of the war, the total loss being almost twenty-five thousand. Halleck now united the several divisions of his army, and during



ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON

May and June captured Corinth and Memphis, the latter city being situated on the Mississippi in the southwest corner of Tennessee.

(d) *The Capture of New Orleans.*—During the month in which the battle of Pittsburg Landing was fought, Admiral Farragut with a Union fleet, assisted by a Union army under General Butler, began an attack on New Orleans and its defenses. This was a part of the Union campaign for securing control of the Mississippi. The possession of New Orleans and the mouth of the Mississippi was deemed of especial value

to the national government, because their possession would deprive the Confederacy of the large amount of military and other supplies that were being brought into New Orleans, and into Texas by way of Mexico, and forwarded from there into the other Confederate states. The several mouths of the Mississippi that led to New Orleans had been well fortified and obstructed by the Confederates. Two forts had been built below the city in order to destroy any Union ships that might attempt its capture. In addition to this the Confederates had a small fleet of war vessels

above these forts. The capture of the city seemed almost impossible, but Farragut was a commander of unusual ability and determination. He removed the large chains and other obstructions the Confederates had placed in the river, ran his vessels past the forts, and amid a storm of shot and shell destroyed the Confederate fleet and compelled the city to surrender. A little later he proceeded up the river and captured Baton Rouge. The capture of New Orleans was one of the greatest Union victories of the war, and it, with other victories he won, has justly given Admiral Farragut a high place among the greatest naval commanders of the world.

(e) *Battles of Perryville and Murfreesboro.*—After their defeat before New Orleans and the capture of Corinth and Memphis, the Confederates made a desperate attempt to recover the eastern part of Tennessee and Kentucky. The Confederate army that had been organized for this purpose was placed under the command of General Bragg, who was a commander of ability. The Union forces had occupied nearly all of Kentucky and Tennessee. The detachments in eastern Tennessee and Kentucky were now united and reinforced. General Buell was placed in command of this united army. Bragg with his army of about thirty thousand marched from Chattanooga on the southern boundary of Tennessee northward across both Tennessee and Kentucky and reached the Ohio River. Buell followed him closely, and on October 8 the two armies came together at Perryville in Kentucky, where an important battle was fought. After this battle the Confederate army returned to Chattanooga, but soon began another march northward. By this time Rosecrans, with Thomas and Sheridan for two of his generals, had been put in command of the Union army in eastern Tennessee, and was on the march to Chattanooga at the time Bragg started northward. The two armies met at Murfreesboro in Tennessee, and on December 31 a great battle was fought. The total loss was about twenty-two thousand, or more than one fourth of all those engaged. After this battle Bragg again returned to Chattanooga. This ended the year's work in the West.

(f) *Result of Western Campaign in 1862.*—At the beginning of 1862 the Confederacy controlled the Mississippi from just

south of Cairo, Illinois, to its mouth and occupied much of Missouri, the southern part of Kentucky, and all the southern states south of these two. By the end of the year the Confederates had lost all of Missouri and Kentucky, nearly all of Tennessee, a part of Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, and had lost control of the Mississippi except along the western boundary of the state of Mississippi and for a short distance south of that state. Vicksburg was the only important city on the Mississippi the Confederacy still possessed. From all this it becomes plain that



FARRAGUT IN MOBILE BAY

the result of the campaign in the West was in striking contrast with the one in the East. It will be remembered that the Eastern Campaign for this year ended with Lee's invasion of Maryland and with the crushing defeat of the Union army under Burnside at Fredericksburg.

(g) *The Capture of Vicksburg.*—The most important work left for the Union armies in the West after 1862 was the capture of Vicksburg, which would give the national government complete control of the Mississippi. After the capture of Memphis in June, 1862, Halleck was called to Washington and Grant was

soon put in supreme command of all the Union forces in western Tennessee and northern Mississippi. He soon began to plan for the capture of Vicksburg, one of the most strongly fortified military posts in the Confederacy. It is situated on high bluffs on the east bank of the Mississippi. Just north of these bluffs the country was so low and swampy that it was almost impossible for an army to approach the city from that direction. Grant realized fully the great difficulties that would have to be overcome before this stronghold could be captured, but he was determined to succeed. Sherman, one of Grant's commanders, made an attack on some of the defenses of Vicksburg, but was defeated. Grant then devoted several months in attempts to secure some advantage for an attack, but was not successful. He finally decided to transfer his army to a point below the city and make an attack from the south. He directed Porter, who was in command of the Union fleet of gunboats, to run his boats down the river past the forts during the night. Although the forts opened a terrific fire on the Union fleet, it succeeded in getting by them without much loss. Grant then marched his army down past Vicksburg on the west bank of the river, and Porter with his gunboats carried it across to the east bank. This action of Grant in placing his army below Vicksburg was the most daring thing attempted by any commander during the war. He had separated his army from its base of supplies in the North, and two Confederate armies at once made preparations to attack him. One of these armies was in Vicksburg, under the command of Pemberton; the other was near Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, and was under the command of Joseph E. Johnston. By rapid marches, Grant threw his army between these two Confederate armies, and in several battles defeated Johnston and captured the city of Jackson. He then turned upon the army of Pemberton and drove it back into Vicksburg. This was all done in a few days. It was the most daring and brilliant work of the war, and proved that Grant possessed military genius of a high order.

The Union army was unable to carry the defenses of Vicksburg by direct assault, and so settled down to a regular siege. The Confederate army within the city made a heroic defense. The storm of shot and shell from the Union cannon was so terrible

that the people in the city were compelled to live in caves and cellars. Pemberton held the city for seven weeks, and surrendered only when his soldiers and the people were nearly starved. The surrender took place on July 4, 1863, just one day after Lee's defeat at Gettysburg. A few days later the other places held by the Confederates on the Mississippi south of Vicksburg surrendered. Thus the national government at last secured control of the Mississippi from its mouth to its source. This completely separated the Confederacy and prevented Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas from doing much more for the southern cause.

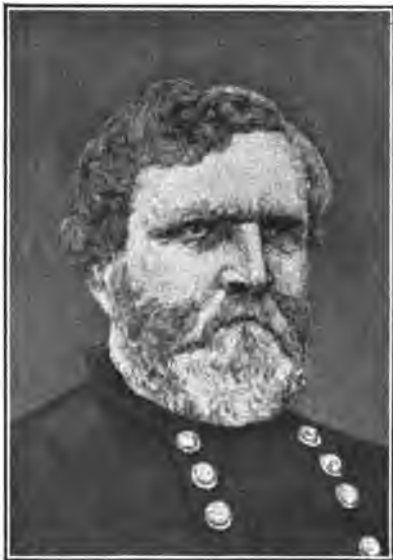
(h) *Battles of Chickamauga and Chattanooga.*—After the battle of Gettysburg and the surrender of Vicksburg, the entire war, as far as the fighting was concerned, centered for a few months in eastern Tennessee at and near the cities of Chattanooga and Knoxville. Lee sent one division of his army into eastern Tennessee under the command of General Longstreet. General Burnside, who was sent west with one division of the Union army, occupied Knoxville. A little later a division of the Army of the Potomac was sent into eastern Tennessee under the command of General Hooker. Before Vicksburg surrendered, and before Longstreet, Burnside or Hooker arrived, Rosecrans had succeeded in forcing Bragg to leave Chattanooga. As soon as Bragg received more soldiers, he attacked Rosecrans in the Chickamauga Valley near Chattanooga. This battle of Chickamauga, fought on the 19th and 20th of September, was one of the bloodiest and most desperate of the war. Had it not been for the stubborn and splendid resistance made by General Thomas with the left wing of the Union army, the Confederates would have won a great victory. As it was, the right wing of the Union army was defeated and driven from the field.

Thomas was now put in command of this army. He was besieged in Chattanooga by Bragg, and Longstreet besieged Burnside in Knoxville. Lincoln became alarmed at the situation in eastern Tennessee. He ordered more soldiers sent from the East, and put Grant in command of all the Union armies in the West. Grant started at once for Chattanooga, placing Sherman in command of a part of the army that had captured Vicksburg, with instructions to follow with it as rapidly as possible. After the

soldiers under Sherman had arrived, and Grant had completed his plans, he ordered a general attack on the Confederate lines. This battle, which began on November 23, and ended on the 25th, included some magnificent fighting. The Union soldiers in the charges up Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge did not stop where their officers had commanded them to stop, but with wild cheers rushed on and carried the Confederate batteries at the top. The battle resulted in the complete defeat of the Confederate army, which was compelled to make a hurried retreat into Georgia. Grant now sent Sherman to the relief of Burnside at Knoxville. As Longstreet did not consider his army strong enough to meet both Sherman and Burnside, he marched back into Virginia, where he joined the Army of Northern Virginia under General Lee.

(i) *Result of Western Campaign in 1863.* — The result of the campaign in the West in 1863, as in 1862, was in striking contrast with that of the campaign

in the East. It is true that Lee had been defeated at the battle of Gettysburg, but he was able to remain in the northern part of Virginia in peace and safety. The Union army had prevented him from making a successful invasion of the North, but he had prevented the Union army from invading the South, although he had a smaller number of soldiers than had the Union commanders. It was quite different in the West. There the Union armies had won victory after victory. Grant had captured an entire Confederate army at Vicksburg, had secured control of the Mississippi, and by the end of the year had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Confederate



GEORGE H. THOMAS

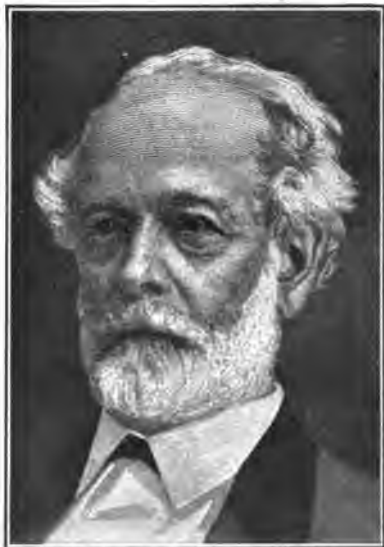
forces in eastern Tennessee. His successes had hushed all criticism, and they had secured for him the confidence of Lincoln and the northern people.

238. Campaign of 1864-1865.—In March, 1864, Grant was made lieutenant-general and given command of all Union armies in both the East and the West. He gave his personal attention to the Army of the Potomac, but directed the movements of all the Federal forces. The greatest Union commander and the greatest Confederate commander were now to face each other for the final struggle. In considering this final struggle, it should be remembered that the South was about exhausted in military supplies, in money and in soldiers. During the Eastern Campaign of 1864-1865 the Army of the Potomac under Grant was always nearly twice as large as the Army of Northern Virginia under Lee. But in this connection it should also be remembered that the Union army was compelled to attack the Confederate army in fortified positions, which gave the Confederate force a great advantage. An army fighting behind fortifications need not be nearly so large as an army making an attack.

(a) *The War in the West and South.*—Grant's military plans for 1864 included two general lines of work. He was to march south from the Potomac, defeat Lee and capture Richmond. Sherman with the western army was to proceed south from eastern Tennessee, capture Atlanta, and from there march through the Confederacy to the Atlantic. On May 4, 1864, Sherman began his march on Atlanta. He had under his command about one hundred thousand as good soldiers as ever went into battle. Opposed to him was a Confederate army of about seventy-five thousand, under the command of Joseph E. Johnston, who was one of the ablest southern commanders. Johnston had built strong fortifications between the southern boundary of Tennessee and Atlanta; but Sherman, instead of attacking the Confederate army in these fortifications, marched around them and thus compelled Johnston to retreat from one fortification to another. Although Johnston was conducting the retreat in a very able manner, the Confederate government removed him before Sherman reached Atlanta, and placed Hood in command of the Confederate army,

Hood attacked Sherman several times, but was defeated with heavy loss. He then moved north in the hope that Sherman would follow him and thus give up his advance through Georgia. Instead of doing this, Sherman put Thomas in command of a portion of his army, with directions to look after Hood. Thomas was compelled to retire to Nashville, Tennessee, and intrench his army at that place; but he gradually secured more soldiers and at last he felt prepared to meet Hood. He left his fortification on December 15 and attacked the Confederate army. In a two days' battle he won a complete victory. Hood's army was never organized again as an army.

After destroying the valuable military supplies at Atlanta, and the manufactories in which they were made, Sherman began his "March to the Sea." His army of about sixty thousand men swept over a strip of country about sixty miles wide. On this march the Union soldiers destroyed the railroad and all military



JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON

supplies, and lived by foraging. Sherman reached the coast in the early part of December and entered the city of Savannah, Georgia, on the 20th. After resting his soldiers for about a month, he marched north and occupied Columbia, the capital of South Carolina. From there he continued into North Carolina, where he was at the close of the war. Sherman's march through the heart of the Confederacy did a great deal to convince the southern people that they could not succeed in the war, and tended to create opposition to the Confederate government.

(b) *The War in Virginia; Lee's Surrender at Appomattox.*—On the same day that Sherman began his march toward Atlanta,

Grant began his march toward Richmond. The Army of the Potomac numbered about one hundred and twenty thousand, and the Army of Northern Virginia between sixty and eighty thousand. By June 12 the Union army had reached the James River, but since starting south, on May 4, it had lost about fifty-five thousand men, or nearly as many as were in Lee's entire army. The Confederate loss was much smaller, which was due to the fact that the Confederates were on the defensive and fought

behind intrenchments. From May 4 to May 12 the fighting had been almost continuous. Grant, unable to break through Lee's intrenched lines, was forced each time to march by his flank. Lee kept falling back, and kept his army between Grant and Richmond.

At last Grant gave up all hope of capturing Richmond or of destroying Lee's army by direct advance. On June 12 he began to transfer his army across the James River, and at once began a regular siege of Petersburg and Richmond. In order to stop this siege, Lee sent General Early



PHILIP H. SHERIDAN

with about seventeen thousand men to threaten an attack on the city of Washington. Early came within sight of the national capital, and had he not hesitated before the defenses of the city, he might have captured it. Grant had hurried soldiers north, and soon the city was safe. Sheridan was placed in command of these troops, and after a series of battles succeeded in driving the Confederates out of the Shenandoah Valley. He destroyed everything in this valley on which an army could live, and thereafter no Confederate army threatened the city of Washington. Meanwhile the Union forces continued to press the siege of Petersburg and Richmond. All

through the winter and spring Grant drew his lines closer and closer around these places, and lost many soldiers in assaulting their defenses. At last Lee was forced to abandon Richmond. He attempted to escape westward, but a division of the Union army under Sheridan barred his way. This convinced him that further resistance was useless.

On April 9, 1865, Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia to Grant at Appomattox Court House, a little place about seventy miles west of Richmond. General Lee and all his commanders and soldiers were permitted to go to their homes, and those who had horses and side arms were permitted to keep them. The Union soldiers did not cheer or do anything to humiliate their heroic foes. The magnificent record the Army of Northern Virginia had made, and the honest belief of its soldiers that they were fighting for their rights, fully entitled the Confederates to this generous treatment. The surrender of Lee marked the end of the Civil War, although some of the Confederate armies did not surrender until a little later. The Union armies, which at this time consisted of almost one million men, were soon disbanded. This vast number of soldiers returned to their homes and were soon engaged again in various occupations.

239. The Main Results of the War were the destruction of slavery; the great industrial development of the South made possible by the destruction of slavery; the enfranchisement of the negro, and the race problem—not yet settled—created by this enfranchisement. Since the war the industrial development of the South has been very rapid. Iron and coal fields second to none in the world have been discovered. The production of cotton has vastly increased, and manufacturing establishments of every kind have been springing into existence. Another important result of the war has been the unification of the nation. Sectional feeling has almost disappeared because slavery, its cause, has been removed. It is only those men who were not brave enough to enter the Civil War, or who would not have been brave enough to enter that war had they lived then, who still try to keep alive the bitter feeling that existed at that time. Old Union soldiers and old Confederate soldiers meet from year to year upon the battlefields of the Civil War, and talk about the

stirring events of that time in the most friendly spirit and with the most friendly feeling. During the Spanish-American War old Confederate soldiers fought side by side with old Union soldiers who had opposed them on many a bloody battlefield of the Civil War. The southern people are as loyal and patriotic in their support of the Stars and Stripes as are the people of any other part of the country.

THE WORK OF THE NAVY

240. Blockade of Southern Ports: (a) *Necessity for Blockade.*—As there were not many manufactories in the South, the Confederacy was not able to manufacture enough military supplies for its armies or to supply the demand of the southern people for manufactured goods. All these could be secured from other nations, however, unless such trade was interfered with; for the sale of cotton, tobacco and rice to Europe would have given the Confederate government and the Confederate people ample funds with which to purchase such goods and material. President Lincoln saw clearly at the beginning of the war the great injury to the Confederacy that would result if her ports could be blockaded so that she could not carry on any trade with the countries of Europe.

(b) *Difficulties of Blockade.*—On April 19, 1861, five days after Fort Sumter surrendered, President Lincoln issued a proclamation in which he declared a blockade of all the Confederate ports; and later, when Virginia and North Carolina seceded, their ports were included in this blockade. But proclamations could not prevent the Confederacy from trading with Europe. In order to do this it was absolutely necessary for Union vessels actually to blockade the southern ports, and to capture or destroy those vessels that might attempt to trade with the Confederacy. As the coast of the Confederacy was about thirty-five hundred miles long, this was a very difficult thing to do, and would require a large number of vessels. When Lincoln issued his blockading proclamation, the United States government had at its command about twenty-four vessels in active service, none of which was of much value. These vessels would be of practically

no use in so great and important a work as the blockading of the southern ports. This blockade question was, therefore, a serious matter to the Federal government.

(c) *Rapid Growth of Federal Navy; its Effective Work.*—

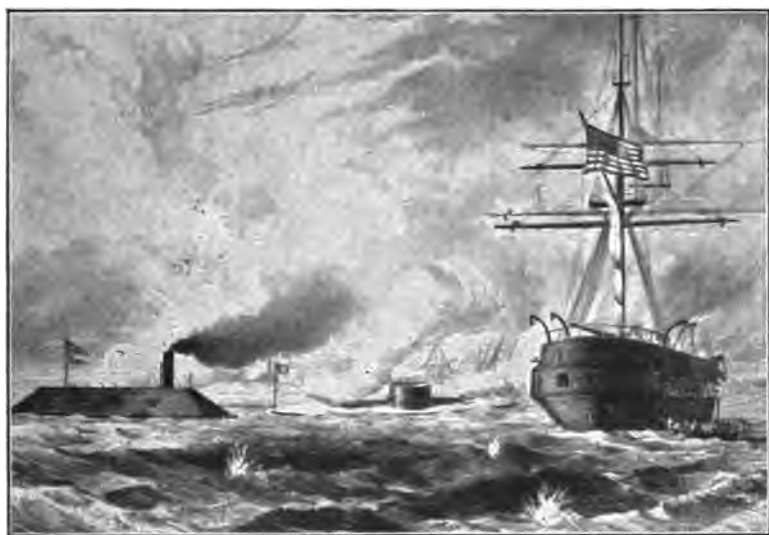
To meet this condition, the national government built and equipped a navy with great rapidity. At the close of the war the navy of the United States contained nearly seven hundred vessels and more than fifty thousand seamen. By the close of the year 1861 the blockade was fairly well effective, and as the war progressed it became more and more effective. This work of the navy in shutting out supplies from the South greatly injured the Confederacy and hastened the end of the war. The navy was also of great value in directly aiding the Union armies on land. This has already been seen in its capture of New Orleans, and in the assistance it rendered Grant on the Mississippi. As it was almost impossible to guard completely the entire coast line of the Confederacy, many vessels, known as blockade runners, would slip past the Union vessels in the night and succeed in bringing supplies to the Confederates and in buying cotton and tobacco. The Union vessels either captured or destroyed more than fifteen hundred of these blockade runners.

241. Commerce Destroyers; Effect on Nation's Commerce; Geneva Award.—The Confederacy, of course, did what it could to injure the commerce and shipping of the North. In order to do this the Confederates built and equipped vessels that captured or destroyed the merchant vessels that belonged to the northern people. They did not, however, interfere with vessels trading with the North unless they were sailing under the American flag. This was because the Confederacy did not have a navy, and could not therefore declare a blockade of the northern ports and forbid other nations to trade with the North. The Confederate vessels fitted out to attack the merchant ships of the North were called commerce destroyers. Of the numerous vessels of this kind, those that did the most damage to northern commerce were the *Alabama*, the *Florida*, and the *Shenandoah*. All of these vessels were either built or purchased in England, not only with the full knowledge of the English government, but in some cases with the actual connivance of that government.

In 1872 a board of arbitration, to which this question had been submitted, decided that England should pay to the United States the sum of fifteen and one-half million dollars on account of the injury done to American commerce during the war by the Confederate commerce destroyers that had been fitted out in English ports. This settlement is known as the Geneva Award. The fifteen and one-half million dollars, however, in no wise paid for the injury these vessels did to the American shipping industry. Their destruction of more than two hundred and fifty northern merchant vessels was not the real injury they inflicted on the shipping industry of the nation. As has already been stated, the shipping industry of the United States in 1860 was larger than that of any other nation. The fear that southern commerce destroyers would capture their merchant vessels caused the northern people to sell, during the war, nearly half of their ships. The shipping industry of the United States has never recovered from this.

242. Revolution in Naval Warfare.—When Virginia seceded, the commander in charge of the United States navy yard at Norfolk sank the Union vessels so as to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Confederates. One of those sunk was called the *Merrimac*. The Confederates raised this vessel, covered it with a double plating of iron, and called it the *Virginia*. All the warships in the world at that time were built of wood, although several iron-covered vessels were then being built in England and France. While the *Merrimac* was being remodeled, another small iron vessel was being built in New York by John Ericsson. This vessel was called the *Monitor*. It was covered heavily with iron, and its deck was scarcely above the water. In the center of the deck was a circular turret that contained two large guns and that could be revolved slowly by machinery that was placed below the deck. At the time the *Virginia* was completed there were a number of Union war vessels in Hampton Roads at the mouth of the James River. Just south of these vessels, in the little arm of water that leads to the old Union navy yard at Norfolk, was the *Virginia*. On March 8, 1862, this vessel steamed out and leisurely attacked the Union vessels. The *Cumberland*, a powerful man-of-war, was sunk by the

Virginia, and the *Congress* was compelled to surrender. Union guns were unable to injure the iron sides of the *Virginia*. She steamed back to the Confederate fort with the intention of continuing the destruction of the Union fleet next morning. The news of this battle was telegraphed to the national government and to the people of the North. The destruction of the two Union vessels caused great excitement, because it looked as though this new Confederate vessel could destroy the entire Union navy. Fortunately for the North, the iron *Monitor* arrived



ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE *Monitor* AND THE *Merrimack*

from New York during the night. In the battle that took place the next day neither vessel was able to inflict much injury on the other, but the presence of the *Monitor* prevented the *Virginia* from destroying any more of the Union ships.

This battle between two iron ships was perhaps the most important single event of the war, because it proved that a few ironclads could destroy the largest wooden navy afloat. A complete revolution in naval construction now took place, and the wooden war vessels of the world were rapidly supplanted by iron-protected fighting machines.⁷⁵

SUMMARY OF THE CIVIL WAR

NOTE: The pupil should not be required to memorize the table given below; it is for reference only.

FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR — 1861

Surrender of Fort Sumter, April 14, 1861: Opening engagement of the war
Blockade of Southern Ports Proclaimed, April 19, 1861: Could not be enforced for some time because of small Federal navy
First Battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861: Federal forces defeated

SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR — 1862

Capture of Fort Henry, February 6, 1862
Capture of Ft. Donelson, February 16, 1862: With capture of Fort Henry, gave North control of Tennessee and Cumberland rivers
Battle between Monitor and Merrimac, March 9, 1862: First battle between iron-clad vessels; prevented *Merrimac* from destroying other Union vessels
Battle of Pittsburg Landing (Shiloh), April 6, 1862: Confederate line of defense broken
Capture of Island No. 10, April 7, 1862: Enabled Union boats to pass down the river toward Memphis
Slavery Abolished in the District of Columbia, April 16, 1862: District under control of Congress
Capture of New Orleans, April 25, 1862: Serious loss to Confederates as it cut off their supplies and assisted North to secure control of Mississippi
McClellan's First Campaign Against Richmond, April-August, 1862: Campaign a failure
Corinth Evacuated, May 29, 1862
Capture of Memphis, June 6, 1862: Possession of Memphis and Corinth opened way for Federal attack on states of Mississippi, Alabama and Tennessee
Second Battle of Bull Run, August 29-30, 1862: Lee victorious; Maryland invaded
Battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862: Decisive victory for neither side, but Lee abandoned invasion of the North
First Emancipation Proclamation, September 22, 1862: Not final but a warning that slaves in all parts of the Confederacy not under control of Federal government on January 1, 1863, would be declared free at that time

Battle of Perryville, October 8, 1862: Bragg returned to Chattanooga but soon marched northward again

Battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862: Federal army defeated

Battle of Murfreesboro, December 31, 1862: One of the bloodiest battles of the war; Bragg again returned to Chattanooga

THIRD YEAR OF THE WAR — 1863

Final Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863: Declared the slaves free in all parts of the South still in control of the Confederacy

Battle of Chancellorsville, May 1-4, 1863: Lee victorious; attempted second invasion of North

Capture of Jackson City, May 14, 1863: Johnston defeated and prevented from co-operating with Pemberton at Vicksburg

Battle of Gettysburg, July 1-3, 1863: Greatest battle of the war; Lee's army badly weakened

Capture of Vicksburg, July 4, 1863: Opened the Mississippi River; with battle of Gettysburg, marked turning point of the war

Battle of Chickamauga, September 19-20, 1863: One of the bloodiest battles of the war; Federal forces nearly routed

Battle of Chattanooga, November 23-25, 1863: Confederates defeated

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1864-1865

Sherman's March on Atlanta Begun, May 4, 1864: Johnston forced to retreat south to protect Georgia

Grant's March on Richmond Begun, May 4, 1864

Siege of Petersburg and Richmond Begun, June, 1864

Early's Raid, Summer of 1864: Attempt to draw Grant away from Richmond; Early defeated by Sheridan in a series of battles

Capture of Atlanta, September 1, 1864

"March to the Sea" Begun, November 16, 1864

Battle of Nashville, December 15 and 16, 1864: Hood's army practically destroyed

Capture of Savannah, December 20, 1864

Columbia Occupied, February 17, 1865

Petersburg and Richmond Evacuated, April 2, 1865

Surrender of Lee, April 9, 1865: End of the war; South exhausted and unable to continue struggle

RECESSIONAL

God of our fathers, known of old—
Lord of our far-flung battle line—
Beneath Whose awful Hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine—
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

The tumult and the shouting dies—
The captains and the kings depart,
Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart.
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

Far-called our navies melt away—
On dune and headland sinks the fire—
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!
Judge of the nations, spare us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

If, drunk with sight of power, we loose
Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe—
Such boastings as the Gentiles use,
Or lesser breeds without the Law—
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

For heathen heart that puts her trust
In reeking tube and iron shard—
All valiant dust that builds on dust,
And guarding calls not Thee to guard—
For frantic boasts and foolish word,
Thy mercy on Thy people, Lord!

Amen.

—Rudyard Kipling

**RECONSTRUCTION, DEVELOPMENT AND
EXPANSION**

RECONSTRUCTION, DEVELOPMENT AND EXPANSION

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES

- I. Relation of the Confederate States to the National Government
- II. The Death of Lincoln: His Character and Ability
- III. The Reconstruction Policy of Johnson
- IV. The Reconstruction Policy of Congress
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RECONSTRUCTION

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES

243. Relation of Confederate States to National Government:

(a) *Various Views.*—At the end of the Civil War the government of the Confederacy and the state government of each Confederate state were completely broken up. The national government was now confronted with the very serious problem of restoring those states that had composed the Confederacy to their proper political and constitutional relation to the Union. In order to do this it was necessary first to determine into just what relation to the national government they had been placed by secession. Some maintained that secession had reduced them to the condition of territories, and that Congress could manage these territories as it pleased. Others maintained that the Confederate states had not lost their statehood, but only their constitutional rights as states, and that Congress could restore these rights in such manner as it might think best.

Lincoln had always held that a state could not legally secede, and that the Confederate states therefore were never legally out of the Union. He did not, however, believe this question worth considering as a basis for getting the seceded states back into the Union. He maintained that the act of secession had simply put these states out of their proper relation to the national government, and his object and purpose were to get them back into their proper relation as soon as possible and as quietly as possible. The Constitution gives the President the right to pardon those who have committed offenses against the United States. Lincoln believed that this power gave him the right to pardon those who had seceded, that those so pardoned could form a state government, and that in this way each state could then be restored to its proper relation to the national government—or reconstructed, as it was called.

(b) *Amnesty Proclamation.*—Acting upon this theory of reconstruction, Lincoln issued a proclamation in December, 1863, in which, with some exceptions, he promised pardon to all those who would lay down their arms and take an oath to support the

Constitution and all laws and proclamations that had been made concerning the freeing of slaves. He promised in this proclamation that a seceded state would be permitted to form a new state government as soon as the number of resident voters taking this oath in such state was one-tenth as large as the number that had voted in that state in 1860, and that such state would then be given full recognition by the national government. Before the end of the war, Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana had formed new state governments in accordance with this proclamation. On April 11, two days after the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, Lincoln in an address indicated plainly that he intended to adopt the same liberal policy in regard to the reconstruction of the other Confederate states. But he was never to carry out this policy.

244. Death of Lincoln: (a) *His Assassination.*—Amid the thankful rejoicing of the northern people over the end of the war, and in the midst of his own glad thankfulness that the Union had been preserved, Lincoln was killed. He was shot about ten o'clock in the evening while attending Ford's Theater in Washington, and died a little after seven o'clock the next morning. The 14th of April was the day on which he was shot—just four years from that 14th of April on which Fort Sumter surrendered, and just four days after the Army of Northern Virginia surrendered. An actor by the name of John Wilkes Booth committed the murder. Booth was a half-crazy Confederate sympathizer. The murder of Lincoln was a part of a conspiracy to murder a number of the leading men of the nation; but the only other one attacked was Seward, who at the time was confined to his bed by an injury sustained in an accident. Seward was not killed by the attack, but he was badly injured. Booth was shot and killed while resisting arrest, and nearly all those who had helped him plan the murder were either hanged or imprisoned. The Confederacy and southern people had nothing to do with this conspiracy.

(b) *Tributes to Lincoln; his Feeling toward the South.*—The death of Lincoln plunged the northern people from glad thanksgiving into the deepest sorrow. The news of his death profoundly moved the entire civilized world, for his great

character, kind heart and magnificent work had at last hushed all criticism and won the admiration and deep respect of almost every thinking man and woman in Europe. From every civilized nation came messages of genuine sorrow. While Lincoln's death was a great loss to the entire nation, it was an especially great loss to the South. He had no feeling of anger whatever toward the people of the Confederacy. On the contrary, he intended to help them in every way possible to recover from the effects of the war and to adapt themselves to the new conditions. He was the only man with power to control the radicals of the North and prevent the bad conditions brought about in the South by the policy of reconstruction finally adopted. He had won the complete confidence of the northern people, who would have indorsed his kind and liberal policy in dealing with the unusual situation brought about by secession. Even the southern people were already coming to look upon him as their best friend. This was perhaps the greatest tribute to his character and ability.

(c) *Character and Rank of Lincoln*.—In some respects Lincoln was the greatest man who ever entered public life in America. He was born and reared in a log cabin. Because his parents were too poor to provide better light, he was often compelled to study by the light of the fireplace. During his entire life he did not attend school more than twelve months altogether, yet some of his speeches and public papers will always rank as splendid examples of clear, pure and elegant English. No other President of the United States ever had to deal with conditions that were so difficult as were those that confronted him. His common sense, sound judgment and great ability enabled him to handle and control men during the intense excitement that existed at critical moments in the struggle of the nation for existence. With this great ability was a nature that was extremely kind and sympathetic even toward those opposed to him. Throughout the war he said that the southern people were so sincere in the belief that they were fighting for the right, that he and they prayed to the same God for success.

245. The Reconstruction Policy of Johnson: (a) *His Attitude toward the Seceded States*.—When Lincoln died, Vice President Johnson became President. He decided to carry out

Lincoln's policy of reconstruction, with but slight modification. As Congress was not in session during the summer and fall of 1865, he could proceed with the reconstruction of the seceded states without any interference from that department of the national government. On May 29, 1865, he issued a proclamation in which he stated the conditions on which the seceded states might form state governments and be readmitted to the Union. This proclamation was very much like the one Lincoln had issued on the same subject, but it differed in some important respects.

In order to prevent those who were large slave-holders before the war from taking active part in the work of reconstruction, the proclamation provided that no one who owned property worth more than twenty thousand dollars could take the oath prescribed. The proclamation also required the states to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution before they would be considered fully reconstructed. Congress submitted this amendment to the states in February, 1865. During the year it was ratified by the required number of states, and became a part of the



ANDREW JOHNSON

Constitution in December of the same year. This amendment abolished slavery in all the states and in all the territories that belonged to the United States. By the end of 1865 all the seceded states, except Mississippi and Texas, had ratified this amendment and had complied with the other conditions required in the President's proclamation. When Congress met in December, 1865, the President had, therefore, about completed, in accordance with the plan given in his proclamation, the reconstruction of the states that formed the Southern Confederacy.

(b) *Southern Laws for the Regulation of the Freedmen.*—But by that time some things had taken place in the South that had created in the North a strong opposition to President Johnson's policy of reconstruction. Many of the new legislatures in the reconstructed states had enacted laws that had created a very bad impression in the North. How to manage the large negro population that had just secured freedom was a most difficult question. The ex-slaves as a rule were ignorant and superstitious. They had been accustomed to depend on their masters for help as a child depends on its parents for protection and assistance. Their sudden freedom left many of them as helpless as children. If permitted to remain idle and roam over the country, they might become a positive danger to southern society. The new legislatures of the reconstructed states were compelled to face this dangerous situation and solve it in one way or another. It was perfectly absurd to suppose that in a few days, or in a few months, or even in a few years, the ignorant ex-slave could become an intelligent citizen with the ability to take care of himself. Some special laws regarding the large negro population seemed to the southern legislatures absolutely necessary for the protection of southern society. Acting on this belief, most of these legislatures enacted laws that practically compelled the negro to work, and restricted his freedom in many ways. Some of these laws, however, indicated apparently that the southern states intended to keep the negro in a condition of semi-slavery; but the southern people maintained that this was necessary until the ex-slaves should become intelligent and better able to take care of themselves. In the North, where the negro question as it existed in the South was not well understood, these southern laws regarding the negroes were viewed with grave suspicion. All through the summer and fall of 1865 the northern people became more and more convinced that the new legislatures of the reconstructed states were trying to annul the result of the war by virtually re-enslaving the negroes. They thought that the reconstruction policy of Johnson was largely responsible for this. The new Congress that met in December represented this opinion, and it at once began to undo the work of reconstruction that Johnson had accomplished.

246. Reconstruction Policy of Congress: (a) *The Freedmen's Bureau.*—When Congress met it refused to recognize the senators and representatives who had been elected by the reconstructed states. This gave those who were opposed to Johnson's policy a large majority in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. In March, 1865, Congress established an office or bureau, called the Freedmen's Bureau. It was the duty of this bureau to look after and help negroes who had become free. The new Congress that met in December, 1865, enlarged the powers of the officers of this bureau so that they could interfere with the enforcement of the laws that the southern legislatures had enacted for the control of the negroes. Johnson vetoed the bills that granted these extra powers, but Congress passed them over his veto.

(b) *The Fourteenth Amendment.*—Soon after it had enacted the laws that enlarged the powers of the Freedmen's Bureau, Congress prepared the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, and submitted it to the several states for their approval. This amendment contains several important provisions. The first section makes the negro a citizen and forbids any state to make any special law against him, such as the legislatures of the reconstructed states had enacted. During the summer and fall of 1866 every one of those states that had seceded, except Tennessee, refused to ratify this amendment, and as their refusal prevented it from securing the approval of the required number of states, it was not adopted. At the November election the people of the North strongly approved the reconstruction policy of Congress by electing a still larger number of radical Republicans to the House of Representatives.

(c) *The Reconstruction Acts.*—The rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment by the southern states caused Congress at its next meeting to take stronger measures than ever against those states. In the spring of 1867 it passed a series of acts known as the Reconstruction Acts. One act divided those states that had formed the Confederacy, except Tennessee, into five military districts, and placed each district under the command and control of an army officer. Another act gave the negro the right to vote but prevented many of the southern whites from

voting. It was the duty of the army officer in each military district to enforce these acts. Each state was required to frame and adopt a constitution that would guarantee the negro the right to vote. The election of a legislature as provided for in this new constitution was also required. The legislature thus elected was then to adopt the Fourteenth Amendment. Any seceded state that refused or neglected to do all these things would not be permitted to exercise and enjoy the rights of a state. All the states affected by these acts, except Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi and Texas complied with these conditions. In June, 1868, Congress declared all those states that had so complied fully reconstructed and entitled to all the rights of states. In July the Fourteenth Amendment was declared a part of the Constitution.

(d) *The Fifteenth Amendment.*—In February, 1869, Congress proposed the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, and submitted it to the states. The states of Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi and Texas were now required to ratify this amendment in addition to complying with all the conditions in the Reconstruction Acts. The Fifteenth Amendment gave the negro the right to vote, by declaring that "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." This amendment became a part of the Constitution in 1870, and by 1871 Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi and Texas had all ratified it, and thus the political reconstruction of the South was completed.

247. Some Results of Reconstruction: (a) *Impeachment of the President.*—One result of reconstruction was the impeachment of President Johnson. The feeling between the President and Congress was bitter. Johnson vetoed nearly all the acts of reconstruction, but Congress passed them over his veto. Stanton, who was Secretary of War under both Lincoln and Johnson, was strongly opposed to Johnson and his policy of reconstruction. Johnson determined to remove him from office because of this opposition. In order to prevent this, Congress passed a law—called the Tenure of Office Act—which made it necessary for the President to get the consent of the Senate to remove an officer whose appointment it was necessary for the Senate to approve.

Johnson tried to remove Stanton in spite of this law, as he considered it unconstitutional. For this the House of Representatives impeached the President, but the Senate by one vote failed to convict him. Thoughtful men consider Johnson's impeachment unfortunate, and believe that his conviction would have established a bad precedent.

(b) *The Race Question.*—President Johnson's impeachment was not the only unfortunate result of reconstruction. The reconstruction policy of Congress is responsible in a large measure for the existence to-

day of the race question in the South. In those states that were placed under military rule by the Reconstruction Act, the southern people for a while were ruled by their former slaves and by immigrants from the North. Some of these immigrants were excellent men; but most of them were men of not very high character, and they came South for the express purpose of making money out of the unfortunate conditions that existed there. Under military rule they controlled the ignorant negro vote, and

thereby controlled many of the state legislatures, and had laws enacted under which they robbed the southern people and enriched themselves. All this naturally made the southern people feel bitter not only against these northern immigrants, who were called "Carpetbaggers," but toward the negro race also. This was the beginning of the active race question. The enfranchisement of the negro has helped to keep this question alive.

It seems probable that the question of giving the negro the right to vote should have been left to each individual state.



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In 1865 the people of Connecticut, Wisconsin and Minnesota voted down the proposition to give the negroes in those states the right to vote, and in 1867 the people of Ohio and Kansas did the same thing. There were but few negroes in those states, and they were far better qualified to vote than were those in the South. In a republic like the United States, the safety of government depends upon the intelligence of the voter. To give the ballot to the millions of ignorant and half-civilized negroes of the South was inviting the destruction of southern society. It would have been better, perhaps, as stated above, to have left to each state the question as to when the negro was qualified to exercise the important right of the franchise.

POLITICAL METHODS AND POLITICAL PARTIES "

248. Political Methods: (a) *Civil Service Laws.*—The most important changes that have taken place in political methods since the Civil War are the enactment of the Civil Service Laws, the adoption of a modified Australian Ballot, the use of the Direct Primary System for nominating candidates for office, the use of Direct Legislation for controlling law-making bodies, and the use of the Recall for removing men from office. The Civil Service Laws marked a distinct advance in political methods. Under the Spoils System introduced into national politics during Jackson's administration, men were often appointed to federal positions because of their politics, and not because they were especially qualified to do the work of the offices to which they had been appointed. Ever since Jackson's administration many appointments of this kind have been made, and it has resulted in great injury to the people, because their public work has not been well done by the inefficient men who have been given these positions because they helped to elect the successful candidate. The object of the Civil Service Laws is to secure the appointment of men to public office because of their ability, and not on account of their politics. The first of these laws was enacted in 1871. In that year Congress enacted a law known as the Civil Service Reform Act. This law gave the President the power to select a commission to devise a better

plan for the appointment of men to all offices under his control. Grant was anxious to enforce this law and better the civil service; but the members of Congress, desiring the offices for political purposes, refused to vote money to carry out the reform. As a result, it proved of little value. In 1883 Congress passed the "Pendleton Civil Service Act," giving the President the power to make appointments to certain offices by means of examination, and officers thus appointed could not be removed



THE WHITE HOUSE

for political reasons. Since then the President has placed a large number of offices under the civil service rules, and the result has been a distinct improvement in the public service.

(b) *Australian Ballot System.*—The Australian ballot system secures a secret vote—that is, this system of voting enables a voter to cast his ballot without anyone else knowing for whom he has voted. This is very important, because a secret ballot tends to prevent the buying of votes and personal influences

affecting a voter in casting his vote. The sanctity of the ballot cannot be guarded too carefully. The success of representative government depends largely on an intelligent ballot honestly cast. The selection of candidates for office is of almost as great importance. If the candidates for office are not honest and men of ability, it does not make so very much difference how carefully the ballot may be protected. A very important change is now being made in the method of selecting candidates for office.

(c) *The Direct Primary System.*—From Washington's administration to Jackson's administration the candidates of a party for the more important offices were selected by the leaders of that party or by the state legislatures (see discussion of Political Methods under Westward Expansion and Slavery). By this method the voter did not select the men, or candidates, for whom he was to vote; he was compelled to vote for men selected by the



JAMES A. GARFIELD

party leaders, or not vote for anyone for the offices for which these men were candidates. Thus the party leaders rather than the people controlled the government.

The opposition of the people to the method or custom of permitting the party leaders or the state legislatures to select the candidates for the more important offices became stronger and stronger. During Jackson's administration it was abolished and the convention system was adopted. By the convention system the candidates of a party are

selected by the conventions composed of members of that party—the candidates for county offices by the county convention, the candidates for state offices by the state convention, and the candidates for president and vice president of the United States by the national convention. The delegates to the county con-

vention are either elected by the members of that party in the county or selected by the county officers of that party. The delegates to the state convention are elected by the county conventions and the delegates to the national convention are elected by the state conventions.

While the convention system of selecting candidates for office is a distinct improvement on the old method, it has not given very good satisfaction. The people do not have enough to say in selecting the candidates for whom they are to vote. It is true that the people have some voice in selecting the delegates to a county convention, but these conventions are often controlled by machine politicians and the candidates they select are often not the ones that the members of the party prefer. The people have still less influence in the selection of candidates by the state and national conventions, because, as already explained, the delegates to those conventions are selected by conventions, not by the people. Many have come to believe the politicians have as much influence in selecting candidates and controlling the government to-day under the convention system as they had when party leaders or the legislatures selected the candidates. Because the convention system results often in the selection of candidates and the control of the government by politicians rather than by the people, there is a growing demand that this system be abolished and some other method adopted. Many states have already abolished the convention system. In those states that have done this, the people nominate men for office by voting for them directly at an election provided for by law. This method is called the Direct Primary System. Under this system two elections must be held. On a day specified by law the members of all parties go to the polls and vote for men whom they desire to become the candidates of their parties for the offices for which nominations are to be made. The successful men at this election are the party nominees, and on another day specified by law the people go to the polls and vote for the candidates nominated at the first election, the candidate receiving the largest number of votes for an office being elected to that office. By the direct primary system, therefore, the people nominate their candidate for office and do not trust this important matter to conventions.

The Direct Primary System has not yet been used to nominate candidates for president and vice president of the United States, but there is no legal reason why these candidates cannot be nominated by this system. In more than half the states, a party's candidates for United States senator are nominated in this way. The Federal Constitution requires that United States senators be elected by the state legislatures, but in those states where the state law permits the members of a party to nominate their candidate for United States senator at the direct primary, the members of the state legislature of the party that has a majority of the votes in the state legislature will usually elect the candidates selected by their party at the direct primary.

The method of nominating United States senators in Oregon differs from that in all the other states. There the candidates selected by the different parties at the direct primary election are voted for by the people at the regular election and the state legislature is supposed to elect the one receiving the largest number of votes, no matter to what party he may belong. In January, 1909, the Oregon legislature, though most of its members belonged to the Republican party, elected Chamberlain, a member of the Democratic party, United States senator, because he had received more votes at the regular election than did the Republican candidate. Mr. Chamberlain's election is the first of its kind in the history of the nation. The Oregon method enables the people to have the man they want for United States senator, no matter what party controls the state legislature.

(d) *Initiative and Referendum*.—As is stated above, the reason the convention system of nominating candidates for office is being abolished is that many people have come to believe that often the candidate selected by this system is not selected for the purpose of carrying out their wishes and looking after their interests. Many are also coming to believe that the state legislature often enacts laws not in the interests of the people and neglects to enact some that would protect those interests. Because of this belief there is a growing demand that the people have the power to make laws by direct vote and to reject laws or proposed laws enacted by the legislature. In a number of states the state constitution has been changed so that the people now exercise

this right. By this method any person may propose a law or amendment to the state constitution, and if a petition for its adoption be signed by a certain percentage of the voters it must be submitted to the people, and if a majority of those voting favor its adoption it becomes a law or a part of the constitution. By this method the people may also reject a law passed or proposed by the legislature. If a petition against a law be signed by a certain percentage of the voters, that law must be submitted to the vote of the people and if rejected by a majority of those voting it is void, and without effect.

The method by which the people propose a new law is called the Initiative, because the people begin or initiate it. The method by which the people reject a law passed or proposed by the state legislature, or the legislature of a city or county, is called the Referendum, because in this case a law is referred to the people for their decision at the ballot box.

(e) *The Recall*.—This is a method by which the people exercise the right to remove a man from office before his term expires. A certain percentage of the voters, by signing the proper petition, may secure the holding of a special election for the purpose of electing a man in place of one of their officers who may not be performing the duties of his office as they should be performed. The officer, whom those who signed the petition are trying to recall, may be a candidate for re-election. The Recall so far has been used only against city and other local officers, but it is becoming more and more popular. At the present time (1909) it is a part of the constitution of Oregon and of the charters of about twenty-five cities in the United States.



CHESTER A. ARTHUR

249. Political Parties.—With the exception of two administrations, embracing eight years, the Republican party has had control of the national government ever since Lincoln took the oath of office as President on March 4, 1861. During this time the Democratic party has always been a great and powerful party, has exerted a strong influence on national affairs and has twice elected a President. The Republican Presidents during this period were Lincoln, 1861-1865; Johnson, 1865-1869; Grant, 1869-1877; Hayes, 1877-1881; Garfield, March 4, 1881-September 19, 1881; Arthur, 1881-1885; Harrison, 1889-1893; McKinley, 1897-September 14, 1901; Roosevelt, 1901-1909; Taft, 1909—. Lincoln, Garfield and McKinley were assassinated while in office. Lincoln died one month and eleven days after his second term began; Garfield served but six months and fifteen days in all; and McKinley died six months and ten days after his second inauguration. Johnson served out Lincoln's second term; Arthur served out Garfield's term; and Roosevelt served out McKinley's second term and was then elected to succeed himself. The only Democratic President since the beginning of the Civil War was Cleveland, 1885-1889 and 1893-1897. Immediately after the close of the war the chief political issue was the reconstruction of the seceded states. Since then the two main political issues between the Democratic and Republican parties have been the money question and the tariff question, although, of course, there have been minor issues. The many industrial and social questions that have come to the front have given rise to a number of other political parties. Among these are the Populist or People's party, the Prohibition party and the Socialist party, which at times have played more or less conspicuous parts in national affairs.

FINANCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATION

250. The National Debt and the National Bank System.—At the beginning of the Civil War the finances of the national government were in bad condition, the treasury being empty. The amount of money required for carrying on the war was much larger than the government had ever needed before.

Toward the end of the war the expenses of the army and navy amounted to fully three million dollars a day. Much of this money was raised by high taxes, but as already stated a large amount of it had to be raised by selling bonds and by issuing paper money and interest-bearing notes. At the end of the war the interest-bearing debt of the nation was more than two and a half billion dollars. Since then it has been reduced to less than one billion dollars.

One result of the sale of bonds was the creation of the national bank system. This system is entirely different from the United States Bank that Jackson destroyed. It was originated for the purpose of creating a market for the sale of United States bonds, in order that money might be secured to carry on the war. The law that established this system provided that not fewer than four persons, with a capital of not less than one hundred thousand dollars, might establish a national bank. They were required to invest a sum



GROVER CLEVELAND

amounting to at least one-third of their capital in United States bonds, and the government would then give them bank notes, not exceeding ninety per cent of the par value of these bonds. A tax levied by Congress on the notes of state banks caused most of these banks to become national banks, and thus the national government was able to sell large quantities of bonds. The national bank system as first established has been slightly modified and is to-day an important feature of our financial system.

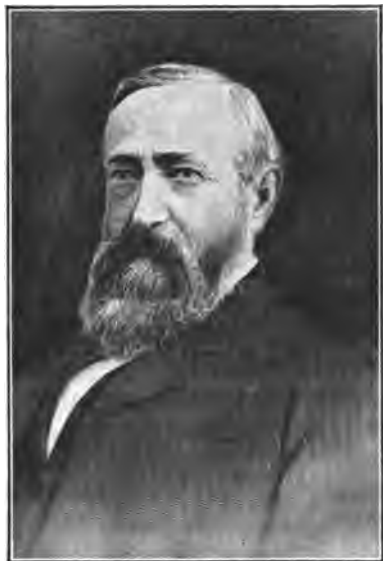
251. Resumption of Specie Payments.—The government did not promise to redeem with gold and silver any of the five

hundred million dollars of paper money it had issued during the war, nor did it accept that paper money in payment for taxes, and all of it therefore continued in circulation. For these reasons, this paper money, together with the more than five hundred fifty million dollars of United States interest-bearing notes that had been issued, had driven nearly all the gold and silver money out of circulation. In order to bring the finances of the country back to a gold and silver basis, Congress enacted a law in 1864 that provided that the Treasury Department should pay out gold and silver in return for paper money, all the paper money thus returned to be destroyed. Within four years the amount of paper money had been reduced from nearly five hundred million dollars to three hundred fifty-six million. The destruction of so much paper money caused a scarcity of money, and in response to the demand of the people, specie payment was discontinued in 1868. In 1879, during President Hayes' administration, it was resumed, and the finances of the country have since been on a hard money basis.

252. Gold and Silver Coinage Standards.—Standard money is money that must be accepted in payment for all debts, and material out of which this money is made must be coined by the United States Mints practically free of charge for anyone who takes the material to the mints and complies with the regulations. Until 1873 both gold and silver were standard moneys in the United States—that is, they were legal tender for the payment of all debts, and any one possessing either could have it coined into money. In 1873 the coinage of silver was partially discontinued, and in 1876 its coinage and use as a standard money were abolished. In 1878 it was again made a legal tender, but the amount the government could coin during each year was limited. The law providing for this is called the Bland Silver Bill. During Harrison's administration, in 1890, Congress passed what is known as the Sherman Act. This law directed the Secretary of the Treasury to buy about fifteen million dollars' worth of silver each year. After 1891 it was provided that the silver bought need not be coined, but silver certificates for four million five hundred thousand ounces must be issued each month, and these redeemed in gold and silver. In order to protect the gold

reserve in the United States Treasury, the Sherman Act was repealed in Cleveland's second administration. In the spring of 1900 Congress enacted a law that declared, in substance, that the gold standard would be maintained in the United States. Since that time the United States has been on a gold standard basis.

253. Tariff Legislation.—For about fifteen years before the Civil War, tariff duties in the United States were lower than they had been since 1816. During the war high tariff rates were levied in order to raise money to meet the expenses of the war and in order to protect manufacturing interests that were being heavily taxed. Since the war the tariff has remained strongly protective in nature. The Wilson Bill, passed during Cleveland's second administration modified the tariff in some respects, but it retained a large number of protective features. During McKinley's administration a tariff with full protective features was restored, and is still in operation.



BENJAMIN HARRISON

254. Industrial Combinations:⁷⁷ (a) *Corporations, Trusts and Labor Organizations.*—

A corporation is an organization recognized by law, and empowered to transact a certain kind of business, as though it were one person. The wonderful industrial progress of the United States has made it possible for men to amass large fortunes. These fortunes, singly or in combinations, have been used for the purpose of building long railroad lines, developing large mining interests and carrying on other great enterprises. Their owners have at times taken advantage of the great power they possess to crush out smaller enterprises having less financial backing. A vast corporation

often takes the place of many individual business concerns. For example, the Western Union Telegraph Company was organized in 1886 out of forty small telegraph companies. Many lines of railroads have been combined into a few great systems. The



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Standard Oil Company and the United States Steel Corporation have taken the place of any number of smaller oil and steel companies. When great corporations were first organized, they were brought into sharp competition with other corporations engaged in the same lines of business. The corporations soon learned, however, that it was to their advantage to form combinations, thus avoiding competition with one another. Vast combinations or trusts have now been formed in nearly all the more important lines of business.

In order to protect themselves against these combinations, and to better their conditions, many of the laboring people of the country have combined at different times

and under various names. Many of these labor organizations have united and formed state federations, and the state federations are represented in what is known as the American Federation of Labor, which causes general co-operation between the organizations composing it. Local, state and national conventions

are held each year. By their combined efforts, the various labor organizations have shortened the hours of labor, raised wages and accomplished many other things that, taken together with the natural advantages and great industrial development of the United States, have raised the condition of the American laborer above that of the laborer of any other nation. This is a most happy condition of affairs, because the welfare of the nation depends largely on the welfare of those who work in the various industries. The wages of the laborer should be high enough, and his hours of labor short enough, to enable him to rear and properly educate a family, and to give him time for intellectual and social improvement. In his first regular message to Congress President Lincoln said: "Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration."

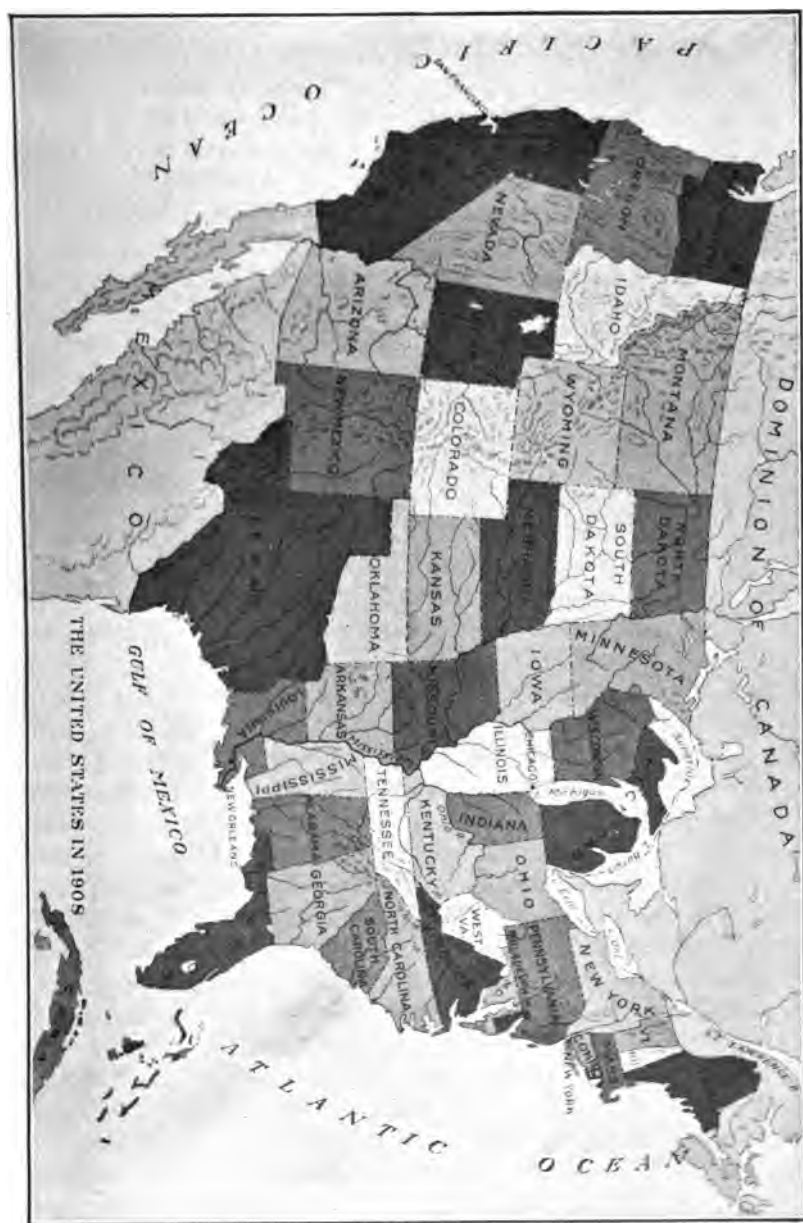
255. Proper Regulation of Industrial Combinations.—This constitutes one of the greatest problems now before the American people for solution. These combinations are regarded by many thoughtful and intelligent persons as necessary to our industrial development. Further, they are believed by many economists to be beneficial if wisely regulated so as not to infringe upon, or interfere with, the great principles of personal freedom and personal initiative in business that have made possible the great growth of the American nation. Freedom in business and industry, and fair, open and honest industrial competition are the principles that have brought prosperity, happiness and comfort into millions of American homes, and they are the principles that make it possible for the very poorest boys and girls to achieve the greatest success. Many of the ablest men and women in the nation believe that it would be very unfortunate for the welfare of the American people if they should ever permit industrial combinations of any kind seriously to interfere with the free operation of these great principles of American growth. Already laws having for their object the control of various industrial combinations have been enacted by both the national and the state legislatures. Among such laws are the Interstate Commerce Act, passed by Congress in 1887, and the Railroad Rate Bill,

passed in 1906. These laws provide for the supervision of railroads by a national commission, whose duty it is to prevent unfair discrimination between shippers, and to prevent the organization of combinations that have for their purpose the destroying of competition and the raising of prices. Among the laws enacted in the interest of labor are the Contract Labor Law, which prohibits any person in the United States from importing foreign laborers under contract; laws restricting Chinese immigration; and laws making eight hours a full day's labor in certain kinds of government employment. In 1903 Congress created the new executive department of Commerce and Labor. Many states have passed laws regulating railway rates and restricting the powers and defining the duties of corporations, trusts and various other combinations.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

256. Purchase of Alaska.—Russia sold Alaska to the United States in 1867 for about seven million dollars. This territory contains about five hundred thousand square miles. At the time it was purchased it was thought to be valuable only for its furs, fisheries and lumber; but large mineral deposits have since been discovered there.

257. The Treaty of Washington.—During the Civil War the government of the Confederacy sent two commissioners to Europe for the purpose of inducing the leading nations of Europe to recognize the independence of the Confederacy. These commissioners embarked on the British vessel *Trent*. A war vessel of the United States stopped the *Trent* and seized the commissioners. This was a violation of international law, and the government of the United States released the commissioners and disavowed the act of the American commander. Great Britain, however, sent troops to Canada and acted very much as though she would like to make trouble for the United States in order to assist the Confederacy. This created a rather strong feeling against Great Britain in the North, and this feeling continued to exist after the war. When the war ended, there were a number of disputes between Great Britain and the United States



that called for settlement, but the American government was not inclined to settle any of them until England would agree to consider the question of paying for the damage done to American merchant vessels by the Confederate commerce destroyers that had been fitted out in English ports.

In 1871 commissioners from both nations met at Washington and made a treaty. The treaty is known as the Treaty of Washington. It provided for the settlement by arbitration of the questions in dispute between the two nations. These questions were: The disputed boundary line between British Columbia and the territory of Washington, the rights of American fishermen in Canadian waters, and the claim of the United States for damages for the destruction of American commerce during the Civil War by vessels fitted out in British ports. The last-mentioned item is known as the "Alabama Claims," and was settled by the board of arbitration, which awarded fifteen million five hundred thousand dollars' damages to the United States. This treaty is important, because it is the first notable example of the voluntary arbitration by two great nations of questions in dispute.

258. Application of the Monroe Doctrine.—During the Civil War a French army had been sent into Mexico, and a French Empire had been established with Maximilian, an Austrian Archduke, as Emperor. Soon after the close of the war about fifty thousand Union veterans under General Sheridan were stationed along the boundary between Mexico and Texas, and the Secretary of State intimated to the French government that the United States was now in a position to enforce the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. The French soldiers were at once removed; Maximilian was executed, and Mexico again became a republic.

Another important application of the Monroe Doctrine occurred in 1895. In that year Great Britain and Venezuela could not agree upon the boundary between their territory in South America. Venezuela appealed to the United States, and the United States asked Great Britain to submit the question to arbitration in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine. Great Britain claimed that the world had outgrown that doctrine. On receiving a note from the British government taking this position,

Cleveland, with the authority of Congress, appointed a commission to determine the boundary in dispute. In a message to Congress he stated that when the boundary line should have been determined by the commission, the United States would feel obliged to maintain it. England then consented to have the matter submitted to arbitration. The firm stand of Cleveland served as a notice to the world that the United States would strictly enforce the Monroe Doctrine.

Still another application of the Monroe Doctrine occurred in 1902. At that time Germany, England and other nations wished to collect some debts that Venezuela owed their citizens. In order to compel the payment of these debts, England and Germany blockaded some of the ports of Venezuela. Through the influence of the government of the United States all the claims were adjusted by arbitration, and several questions in dispute were referred to The Hague Tribunal (see next paragraph).

259. Growth of Arbitration.⁷⁸—The principle of arbitration at various times has been employed in the settling of domestic difficulties in the United States. This method of adjusting disputes has proved particularly effective in the settlement of great strikes, which have threatened the various industries of the nation, and even in some cases the welfare of the whole nation. An instance of this latter kind may be found in the great coal strike of 1902-1903 in the Pennsylvania coal fields, which was settled by arbitration after causing great injury to industries and much suffering among many of the people. As has been stated, the settlement of disputes between Great Britain and the United States by a board consisting of arbitrators appointed by other nations was the first notable application of arbitration to international affairs. It marked a distinct advance in the settlement of international questions, and has since been recognized as the best way in which to deal with many international difficulties. In 1899 another important advance was made. In that year, at the suggestion of the Czar of Russia, delegates from twenty-six nations met at The Hague in Holland for the purpose of providing for a permanent Court of Arbitration for the settlement of difficulties between nations without their going to war. The work of this conference met with the heartiest approval of

the various nations of the world, and as a result The Hague Tribunal of Peace has been established. It is the object of this tribunal to settle justly and fairly all such questions arising between nations as may be submitted to it, and thus to promote the peace and welfare of the world. The United States has been among the foremost in urging the principles of arbitration.

260. The Spanish-American War: (a) *Causes*.—The remote cause of this war was the Spanish misgovernment of her West Indian possessions, which caused continual rebellion among the inhabitants and endangered American property interests there. Moreover, the American people felt a great deal of sympathy for the people who were struggling for liberty and trying to establish a republican form of government, and against whom a cruel and bloody warfare was being waged. The declaration of war was hastened by the destruction of the American battleship *Maine*, in the harbor of Havana, with the loss of more than two hundred and fifty men. It has not yet been proved, but it was generally believed that the destruction of the vessel was caused by the Spaniards. At any rate, it served to arouse the American people and hastened the war for the independence of Cuba.

(b) *Campaigns*.—The American navy decided the war in favor of the United States. Two naval battles were fought, one in the Philippine Islands, which belonged to Spain and where a part of the Spanish navy was stationed, and one off the southern coast of Cuba. In these two battles the Spanish navy was practically destroyed, without the loss to the American forces of a single ship, and with the loss of but one man. With her navy destroyed, Spain could not hope to make any effective resistance on the land, either in the Philippines or in the West Indies. The chief land campaign of the war had for its object the capture of Santiago. Two battles were fought, at El Caney and San Juan, before the city was captured by the Americans. Another successful campaign was begun in Porto Rico, but was soon stopped by the declaration of peace. A third army was sent to the Philippines, where it aided in the capture of Manila.

(c) *Results*.—The war itself was comparatively insignificant, but its results are of great importance to the United States. As an immediate result, Cuba became independent of Spain,

and the United States gained considerable territory, in the management of which she has entered upon some new policies. By the treaty of peace that ended the war the United States acquired the Philippine Islands, Guam, Porto Rico and other Spanish West Indian Islands, giving Spain in return twenty million dollars. This war had shown the military value of the Hawaiian Islands, and they also were annexed to the United States in 1898. The annexation of Hawaii had been proposed to the United States before, and would very likely have taken place in any event, but the war hastened it. The political effect of this war is far-reaching and may vitally affect the policy of the United States. If these possessions are treated as colonies the United States may be compelled to mix in Asiatic and European affairs, thus to a certain extent abandoning the principle of neutrality established by Washington, to which the United States has always strictly adhered. Previous to the acquisition of this territory all of the country acquired by the United States



ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

Victor in Battle of Manila Bay, May, 1898

had been practically unsettled, leaving for the American people the development of its resources and its preparation for becoming an integral part of the Union. Most of the territory acquired from Spain during the recent war is thickly populated, and if it be held as colonial possessions, and the Constitution of the United States be not permitted to extend over it in full, a new principle will have entered into the American government and our national life and institutions. These questions are upon us now, and their solution will constitute some of the most important work of American statesmanship.

261. The Isthmian Canal.⁷⁹—As early as 1850 the building of a ship canal through Central America was discussed, and a treaty made between England and America regarding the neutrality of such canal when built. From time to time treaties were made concerning a canal to be built through Central America, but nothing was accomplished. The Spanish-American War emphasized the value of such a canal, and in 1901 the matter was taken up again. A second treaty was then made



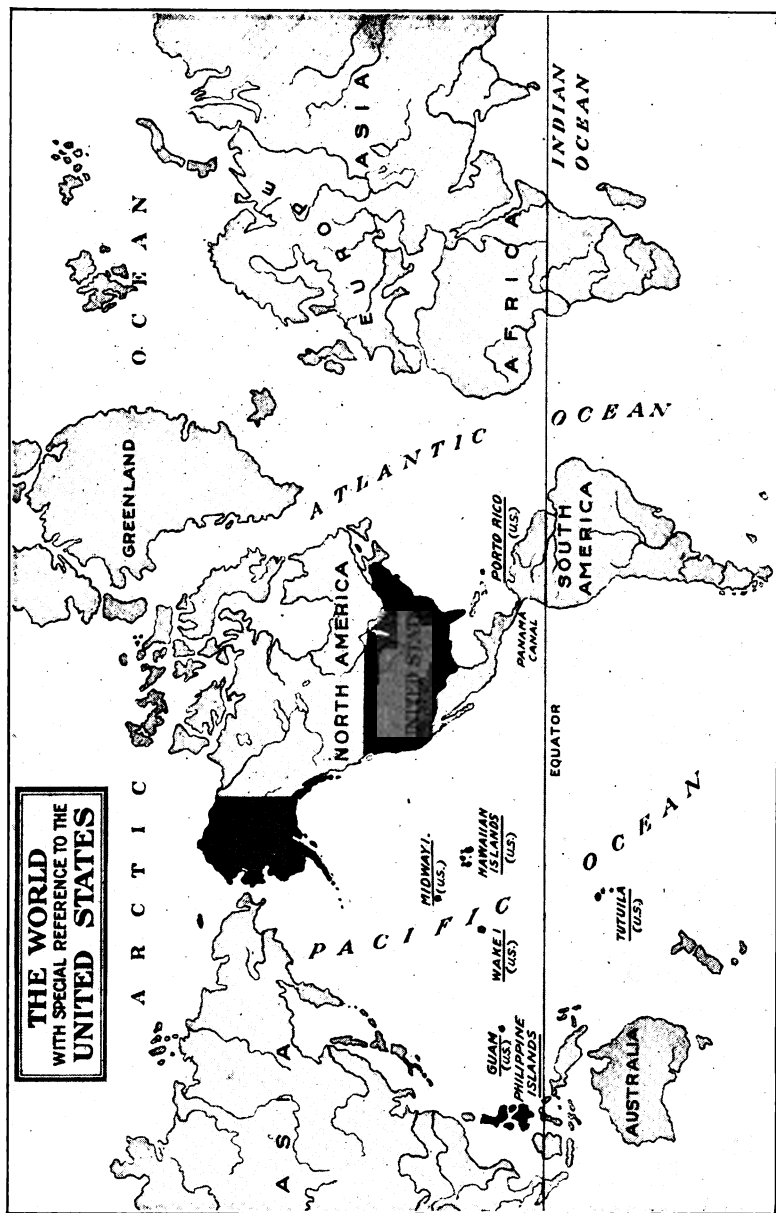
THEODORE ROOSEVELT

with England, guaranteeing the neutrality of the proposed canal, but giving the United States the right of ownership and defense. The construction of the canal was then taken up by Congress. Two routes were proposed, one by way of Nicaragua and the other by way of Panama. A large sum was appropriated for the construction of the canal, and negotiations were at once begun with Colombia for a canal by way of Panama. Upon the rejection by Colombia of the treaty giving the United States the power to construct the canal, Panama revolted and established

a republic that was at once recognized by the United States and the other leading nations. In 1904 the United States entered into a treaty with the government of Panama, and work on the canal was at once begun. Previous to this, however, a French company had done a great deal of work on this canal. Since 1904 the construction work has advanced steadily. When completed the canal will be of great value to the commerce of the world. It will also enable the United States to concentrate its battleships in either the Atlantic or the Pacific without sending them around South America.



AT WORK ON THE PANAMA CANAL
Excavating at lock site, Gatun, looking south



INSTITUTIONAL LIFE ⁸⁰

262. Introductory.—Since the Civil War there has been remarkable progress in the United States along institutional lines. Especially is this true of the institutions of education and business. The industrial or business progress made during this time has never been equaled in any other period of the world's history. This progress has affected the entire institutional life of the country, and has made the United States the wealthiest nation in the world. The rapid increase in wealth, together with a certain class of foreign immigration, has introduced some new factors into the social life of the nation. There has been very little change in the institutions of government and religion, except slow and natural development along lines laid down in previous periods.

263. Industrial Conditions: (a) *Improvement in the Means of Transportation and Communication.*—Since the Civil War there have been many important inventions and discoveries in means of transportation and communication; but none of these caused anything like the revolution along industrial and other institutional lines that was caused by the introduction of the railroad and telegraph. Before the railroad and telegraph came into use, animal power and wind power were the only forces used by man in transportation and communication, except the limited use of steam power in water navigation. As has already been seen, the use of electric power for purposes of communication, and of steam power for purposes of land transportation, brought about an astounding revolution in institutional life. The use of these two forces for such purposes will always make that period of history between 1828 and 1860 stand unique and unrivaled in the history of the world. No other inventions or discoveries in means of transportation and communication can ever affect human progress so profoundly as these have done, because the railroad and telegraph have too nearly overcome the element of time in carrying goods, passengers and messages. Other inventions and discoveries, however, will

make transportation and communication cheaper and more convenient. Among those of this kind that have come into use since 1860 are the cable and electric railways, the bicycle, the automobile and the telephone. The telephone and street railways have become very important factors in the business and social life of the nation. But the most important development in means of transportation and communication made during this period has been the growth of steam railroads. In 1860 there were only about thirty thousand miles of these railroads in the United States, while in 1909 there were more than two hundred



WILLIAM H. TAFT

and fifteen thousand miles, and new lines are constantly in course of construction. In 1860 there were no railroads west of the Missouri River. The first line reaching to the Pacific coast was completed in 1869. Five other trans-continental lines have been built since then, and all these, together with their branches, have penetrated almost every part of the West. It is a remarkable and important fact that the United States has almost as many miles of railroad as have all the other nations together. These vast railway systems in the United States have had a more im-

portant effect on the institutional life of the nation than any other one factor. They have aided industrial growth by making it possible to develop the great natural resources of the country, especially those of the interior part. They have also had a profound effect on the industrial development of the country by creating an immense home market for the products of all parts of the nation. If the railroads did not exist, a large share of the products of many parts of the United States would never find

a market. The improved means of transportation and communication have also exerted a great and beneficial influence on the nation by bringing the people into closer touch and doing away with sectionalism, thus promoting the growth of a true national life.

(b) *Other Inventions and Discoveries.*—The period of Reconstruction, Development and Expansion, like the period of Westward Expansion and Slavery, is justly noted for its numerous useful and important inventions and discoveries. More inventions have been made during this period than in any other period of the world's history. This is true of each kind of business and amusement in which tools, implements or manufactured goods of any kind are used. Many discoveries have been made in the sciences also since 1860, and they are of fully as much importance to mankind as are those made along mechanical lines. It would require many pages in which to name the more important inventions and discoveries that have been made during the last forty-five years. During this period, as was true of the period just before the Civil War, the people of the United States have led the world in the matter of mechanical inventions. Some of the inventions for the practical use of electric power have been among the most valuable made. The practical application of electricity to the telephone, to wireless telegraphy and to the electric railway has already been noted. The electric lamp is another distinguished example of its practical use. Among the rapidly increasing uses to which electricity is being put, none promises to be of more value to mankind than its use in medical science, as, for example, the Roentgen or X-Ray. The use of electric power for practical purposes has only just begun, and while many valuable inventions and discoveries are being made, and will continue to be made in almost every field of work, many things indicate that the greatest and most valuable mechanical inventions that will be made in the near future will be in the domain of electricity.

(c) *Development of Mineral Resources, and of Agriculture and Manufacturing.*—One of the first effects of the invention of new machinery, and of the increased production of iron, copper, gold and silver goods of all kinds, is to create an increased

demand for the minerals out of which this machinery and these goods are made. Between 1860 and 1909 the production in the United States of machinery, and of iron, copper, gold and silver goods, increased more than tenfold. This remarkable growth created an immense demand for iron, copper, gold, silver and other ores, which in turn caused the rapid and extensive development of the mineral resources of the nation. Another important result of the invention and production of useful machinery is to increase the production of manufactured goods and agricultural products. Since 1860 this has been especially true in the United States. Many kinds of goods are now manufactured by machinery that were formerly made by hand, and many kinds of goods that were formerly made slowly with machinery are now manufactured rapidly and in large quantities by new and improved machinery. The new farming machinery invented has had a similar effect on agriculture. The invention of the reaper, the threshing machine and other improved farming machinery during the period of Westward Expansion and Slavery reduced the amount of hard labor on the farm, and made farming more pleasant and more profitable. This is also true of the new and improved farming machinery invented since 1860. This new machinery, together with the opening by the railroads of almost all the rich land in the nation, has caused a wonderful increase in the production of agricultural products. There are now at the beginning of 1909 more than six million farms in the United States. The products raised on these six million farms were worth nearly eight billion dollars in 1908, and the value of these farms was more than fifteen billion dollars. Thus the value of farms and farm products was more than six times as great in 1909 as in 1860. This shows that the growth of agriculture in the United States during the last forty-five years has been much greater than the growth of population. At this point this question will naturally arise: If farm products have increased so much faster than population, what becomes of all these farm products? While a larger quantity is exported now than in 1860, the large surplus is consumed mostly by American manufacturers. So far as value is concerned, more than half of all the agricultural products of the United States is used by American

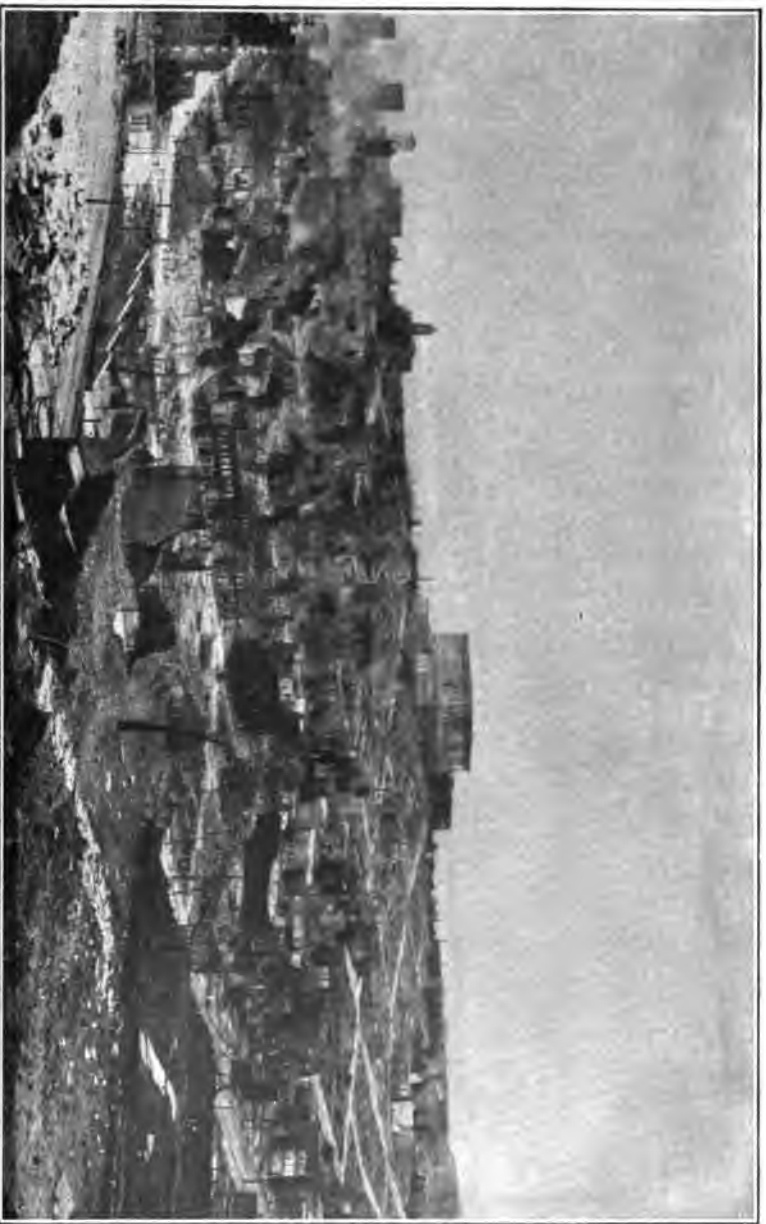
manufactories in the manufacture of goods. This is a striking example of how the farming industry of the nation has become closely connected with the manufacturing industry. From this it becomes plain that if the manufacturing industry is injured, then the farming industry is injured; and if the farming industry is injured, then the manufacturing industry is injured. When both of these great industries are prosperous, the entire nation consumes more mineral and manufactured and farm products than under any other condition, all lines of industry are prosperous, and times are said to be good. This large consumption of the raw products of the farm by the manufactories would indicate that the manufacturing industry must have been prosperous during this period. This was true to a notable degree. The total value in 1908 of all the manufactured products in the United States was about fifteen billion dollars, about seven times as much as in 1860. Thus it will be seen that the growth of manufactories has gone hand in hand with the growth of agriculture. The growth of each has been more rapid during the last five years than during any other period of the same length in the history of this or any other nation. The indications are that this growth will continue, and that the United States will continue to lead the nations of the world in the amount and value of her manufactured and farm products.

(d) *Increase in Commerce, Foreign and Domestic.*—During the period since 1860, as was true during the period of Westward Expansion and Slavery, the great growth in the farming and manufacturing industries led naturally to a rapid growth in commerce, cities and general population. The foreign commerce of the United States since 1897 has averaged more than two billion dollars per year, the exports being larger than the imports, thus leaving the balance of trade with foreign nations in favor of the United States. While this foreign commerce is larger than that of any other nation, and while it is of very great importance to the prosperity of the country, the home or domestic commerce is much larger and is of much greater importance. The home commerce of the United States is several times larger than the home commerce of any other nation, and larger than the total foreign commerce of all the other nations. This

is due to the large amount of farm products used by American manufactories, and to the very large amount of manufactured and farm products that the great prosperity of the American people causes them to use.

(e) *Growth of Cities.*—The great growth of manufactories and of domestic and foreign commerce, which has taken place during the forty-nine years since 1860, has caused a rapid growth in population and cities. During this time the population has increased from about thirty-one millions to more than eighty millions, not including Alaska or any of the territory secured from Spain as a result of the Spanish-American War. In 1860 there were about five million people living in the towns and cities of the United States, while in 1909 this number had increased to more than twenty-five millions. It will be seen from this that in 1860 about one person out of every six lived in the cities, while in 1909 one out of every three lived in the cities. The growth of cities, therefore, has been extremely rapid. New York, with its population of about three and one half millions, is the second largest city in the world; and Chicago, with a population of nearly two millions, is the fifth largest city in the world. Philadelphia has a population of about one and one-third millions. There are three other cities in the United States with populations of more than five hundred thousand, and nine others with populations of from three to five hundred thousand. In 1860 New York was the only city in the United States with a population of more than five hundred thousand, and it then had a population of less than eight hundred thousand.

This unusual tendency to crowd to the cities is thought by many people to be bad for the best welfare of the United States. The real basis of the nation's wealth and growth must continue to depend largely on the prosperity of its farms. Farm life in the United States is becoming more and more pleasant and independent, and it is to be hoped that many of the American boys and girls will remain on the farms and make farming the most pleasant and independent of American industries. Many of the nation's greatest leaders and its highest class of citizens have come from the farm, and the vital interests of the nation require the continued independence and prosperity of the farmer.



SAN FRANCISCO IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE

The earthquake of April 18, 1906, did not itself destroy much property, but by breaking the water mains it left the city helpless against the fires that broke out and destroyed property worth about half a billion dollars



SAN FRANCISCO TWO YEARS AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE

Immediately after the great fire caused by the earthquake of 1906, it was predicted that it would take ten years to rebuild the city. Two years after the fire, however, buildings completed and under construction were worth more than all those destroyed

•(f) *The New South.*—During the period since the Civil War the South has had her full share in the great industrial growth of the nation. During no other period since the American Revolution did she have her share in the prosperity of the country as a whole. The cause of this change was the destruction of slavery. Before the Civil War slavery had been the corner stone of southern society. With the emancipation of the slaves this society passed away, and on its ruins arose a new South, having free labor for its foundation. It was soon to be seen that the lack of free labor was what had caused the South to fall behind the rest of the nation in industrial prosperity. At the close of the war the southern people began with a will to rearrange their industrial conditions. They have succeeded splendidly, and are now convinced that the abolition of slavery was the best thing that could have happened. Since 1860 the South has become covered with a network of excellent railroads. Her mineral resources, which are second to none in the world, have been made use of and are being rapidly developed. Manufactories are springing into existence and many of them already rival those of the North; and for the first time in her history, her cities are having a rapid growth in population. Instead of the abolition of slavery injuring the production of cotton, her annual crop of that staple is now almost three times as large as the largest crop produced by slave labor. Much of this cotton, instead of being sent to the North and to foreign nations, is now being used in her own manufactories. The total population of those states that were slave states in 1860 has more than doubled since the Civil War. In 1900 their combined population was more than twenty-six and one-half millions, or about five millions less than the total population of the United States at the beginning of the war. The total population of the states that were free states at the beginning of the war has also more than doubled since that time, thus their relative growth being about the same as that of the southern states. This is one of the strongest proofs that the prosperity of the South is at last keeping pace with that of the rest of the nation.

(g) *The Development of the West.*—The rapid settlement and growth of the country lying west of Arkansas, Missouri,

Iowa and Minnesota since 1860 have never been surpassed in the pioneer period of any other part of the United States. There were no railroads in this vast territory in 1860. In 1909 six lines extended across it to the Pacific coast, and these lines, together with their branches, afforded ample means of transportation to all the people in the settled portions. These railroads have been the most important factors in the very rapid development of the West. California and Oregon were the only states in all that vast territory at the beginning of the Civil War. At that time the total population of these two states, and of all the rest of the western country, was only a few hundred thousand. In 1909 this same western country contained fourteen states and two territories, and had a combined population of nearly ten millions. It thus contained one more state and three times as large a population as did the entire United States at the close of the American Revolution. This western country now produces nearly all the gold and silver mined in the United States except that obtained in Alaska, and a large proportion of the fruit, wheat, corn, cattle and sheep. San Francisco, with a population of about five hundred thousand in 1909, is the largest city west of the Mississippi, and the ninth largest city in the nation. There has been an important growth of manufactories on the Pacific coast, as is indicated by the fact that a number of the largest battleships in the United States navy have been built in the shipyards of San Francisco, and several in the shipyards of Puget Sound. The growth of the great West in population and wealth has only just begun. The completion of the Panama Canal and the increasing commerce of the nation with the Orient are factors evidently destined to cause the rapid growth and development of the Pacific coast states.

264. Social Conditions.—There have been some important changes in social conditions since the Civil War, some for the better, some for the worse. The more important factors that have tended to change and modify the social conditions of the nation during this period are the improvement in means of transportation and communication; the negro question; the immense foreign immigration; and the great industrial advance that has resulted in the creation of large private fortunes. The improve-

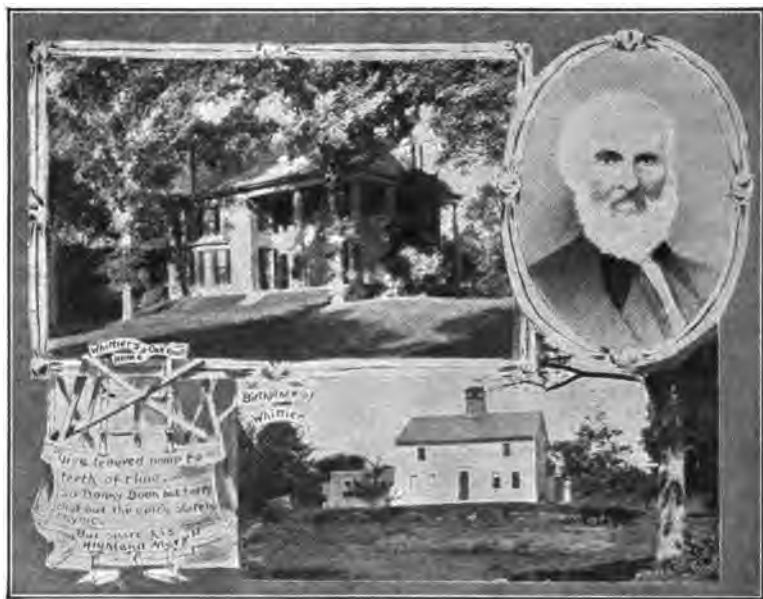
ment in means of transportation and communication has done more than any other one thing to break down localisms in manners and customs, and thus to unify the social life of the nation. The coming to the United States in recent years of so many immigrants from Europe is having a rather undesirable effect on social conditions, because many of these immigrants congregate in large cities, and do not readily assimilate American customs and ideals. The negro question, which was created by the emancipation and enfranchisement of the negroes, more vitally con-



cerns the South, although it affects the entire nation. The solution of this question rests largely with the people of the South, and in this work they deserve the sympathy and co-operation of every citizen of the nation. Industrial education, such as is being carried on in a number of southern institutions with gratifying results, promises to be the most important factor in the solution of this problem. The great industrial development of the nation has tended, on the whole, to advance social conditions, because it has enabled the great mass of the people to have better homes, better clothing, better food and more comforts, and to

enjoy more fully the pleasures of social life. On the other hand, the tendency of large private fortunes is to create class distinction based on wealth. While there are some undesirable tendencies and conditions in the social life of the nation, the great advance along industrial, political and educational lines has caused, and is causing, steady improvement.

265. Education: (a) *Nature of Development.*—In no respect has the advance of the United States since the Civil War



been more marked than in the matter of education. Splendid advance along educational lines has been made in all parts of the United States. It is seen in the present condition of the public school system and in numerous institutions of higher education; in the number and quality of newspapers and magazines; in institutes, conventions and clubs of various kinds, which have for their object mutual improvement; and in the increased number of museums, libraries and art galleries. Nothing holds a brighter promise for the future of the nation than the increasing determination of the American people to provide

excellent free education for every American boy and girl. The future of the republic is safe only so long as the masses of the people are educated. It is the duty of every person to improve in every way possible the efficiency of the free public school system. One of the most vital things in connection with the improvement of schools is the question of teachers' salaries. Able men and women cannot be expected to devote their lives to teaching when they are paid smaller salaries than they can secure in other professions. Henry Ward Beecher made this point plain when he said: "There is no profession so exacting, none that breaks down so early, as that of faithful teaching; and there is no economy so penurious, and no policy so intolerably mean, as that by which the custodians of public affairs screw down to the starvation point the small wages of men and women who are willing to devote their time and strength to teaching the young. In political movements, thousands of dollars can be squandered, but for the teaching of the children of the people the cheapest teachers must be had, and their pay must be reduced whenever a reduction of expenses is necessary. If salaries ever should be ample, it is in the profession of school teaching. If there is one place where we ought to induce people to make their profession a life business, it is in the teaching of schools."

(b) *The Public Elementary School System.*—The Free Elementary Public School System as it exists in the United States to-day has been built up and developed almost entirely since the Civil War. There were public schools before the Civil War, and they were doing an excellent work; but there were not many free public schools before that time, and in efficiency and equipment they were far inferior to the schools of to-day. Just before 1860 the people were beginning to demand free public schools as a right, and this soon resulted in placing the general management of the school system under the control of state school officials and in the levying of state school taxes. This was a new principle in education and government, for before that time such matters had been left almost entirely in the hands of city and county officials. At the present time the constitutions of nearly all the states make ample provision for the maintenance of the free public school system. Under the direction of Congress, nearly all the states

west of the Alleghany Mountains set aside, at the time of their organization, certain lands in each township for the support of public schools. In most cases these lands have been sold, and the money obtained from their sale constitutes a fund, the interest on which is used for school purposes. When additional money is needed, it is raised by direct local and state taxation. Although each state has its own school system, and there is a wide difference as to the length of school terms, qualifications and salaries of teachers, courses of study and similar matters, there are strong forces at work that tend to make the schools uniform throughout the United States. Among these forces are state and national educational associations and the National Bureau of Education, the latter being under the direct control of the national government.

(c) *The Public High School System.*—The advance in high school education during this period has been as great and almost as important to the people and to the welfare of the nation as the improvement in the elementary schools. The whole public high school system has been developed largely within the last forty years, the number of high schools more than doubling between 1890 and 1909. The high schools have been aptly termed the colleges of the people. They are becoming so numerous in many parts of the nation that a large proportion of children can attend them without leaving their own towns or school districts. The service of these schools in strengthening the work of the elementary schools, and in giving the youth of all classes an opportunity to secure a higher and broader education, can hardly be overestimated. Many of the public high schools in the United States to-day offer courses of study of as high grade as did Harvard and Yale in 1800.

(d) *Colleges, Universities and Special Schools.*—The growth of state universities is one of the most notable features in the advance of education in the United States. Nearly every state has established an institution of this kind, supported by taxation, grants of land and appropriations. Several great institutions of learning and numerous smaller colleges have been established throughout the United States by private individuals. Some of these private institutions, and nearly all the state universities,

charge either a very small tuition or no tuition whatever. This gives almost every persevering and ambitious boy and girl a chance to secure a university education. Nothing is more notable in the recent advance of education than the rapidly increasing number of young men and women who are entering the institutions of higher learning. The universities and colleges of the United States are having a marked and important effect on American character and ideals. The special schools are also



having a profound effect on the industrial and professional life of the nation. Among these special schools are normal schools for the training of teachers; medical schools for the training of physicians and surgeons; law schools for the training of lawyers; and many other schools for the training of men and women along professional and technical lines. More and more of these special schools are beginning work where the work of the university ends. They are training a larger number of experts for the various professions, and are thus rendering a very important service to the nation.

SUMMARY BY ADMINISTRATIONS

NOTE: The pupil should not be required to memorize the table given below; it is for reference only.

LINCOLN-JOHNSON 1861-1869

The Civil War

Lincoln's Amnesty Proclamation, December 8, 1863: Provided for establishment of governments in southern states

National Bank Act, February 25, 1863 and June 3, 1864: Main object to provide a market for government bonds

New State Governments Formed in the South: Louisiana, Arkansas and Tennessee formed state governments before Lincoln's death

Freedmen's Bureau Established, March 3, 1865: To care for emancipated slaves until they could care for themselves

Assassination of Lincoln, April 14, 1865: Johnson became President

Johnson's Reconstruction Policy: Attempted to follow policy of Lincoln but was prevented by Congress from doing so

Thirteenth Amendment Passed by Congress, January 31, 1865: Abolished slavery in the United States; ratification proclaimed December 18, 1865

Johnson's Amnesty Proclamation, May 29, 1865: Much like Lincoln's except greater number of Southern people were denied political rights and the states were required to ratify Thirteenth Amendment

Freedmen Laws in Southern States: Before Congress met in December, 1865, South Carolina and Mississippi had passed certain laws concerning negroes; other states were considering similar measures

Limited Resumption of Specie Payment, April 12, 1866: Provided for a slight contraction of paper money—a step toward resumption of Specie Payment

Fourteenth Amendment Passed by Congress, June 13, 1866: Gave civil rights to freedmen; declared part of Constitution July 21, 1868

Supplementary Freedmen's Bureau Act, July 16, 1866: Powers of Bureau enlarged and freedmen given additional aid

Withdrawal of the French from Mexico Demanded by the United States, December 16, 1866: United States enforced Monroe Doctrine

First Reconstruction Act, March 2, 1867: Southern states divided into several districts and placed under military rule; conditions laid down for their readmission into the Union; other Reconstruction Acts passed later

Tenure of Office Act, March 2, 1867: Law to prevent removal from office by President without consent of Senate

Alaska Purchase, March 3, 1867: Secured from Russia by treaty and payment of \$7,200,000

Specie Payment Discontinued, February 4, 1868: Caused by the scarcity of money

Impeachment of Johnson voted, March 2-3, 1868: Johnson found not guilty

The Eight-Hour Law, June 25, 1868: Provided that eight hours should constitute a day for laborers in employ of the government

GRANT

1869-1877

Fifteenth Amendment: Became a part of the Constitution, March 30, 1870; gave freedmen the ballot

First Civil Service Act, March 3, 1871: Authorized President to appoint commission to ascertain fitness of applicants for appointive offices

Treaty of Washington, May 8, 1871: Provided for settling claims against England for damage done by Confederate vessels built in England

Silver Demonetized, February 12, 1873: Coinage of silver money partially discontinued

Silver Act of July 22, 1876: Coinage and use of silver as a standard money abolished

HAYES

1877-1881

Bland Silver Act, February 28, 1878: Silver again made legal tender but limited amount to be coined

Specie Payment Resumed, January 1, 1879: Law passed January 14, 1875; provided for resumption on this date

GARFIELD-ARTHUR

1881-1885

Chinese Restriction Act, May 6, 1882: Immigration of Chinese to the United States restricted

Pendleton Civil Service Act, January 16, 1883: Provided for a commission to prepare rules for determining fitness of applicants for appointive offices

Contract Labor Act, February 26, 1885: Prohibited importation of laborers into the United States under contract

CLEVELAND

1885-1889

Interstate Commerce Act, February 4, 1887: Provided for a commission to regulate rates of common carriers doing an interstate business

Chinese Exclusion Act, September 13, 1888: With certain exceptions Chinese could no longer enter the United States

510 Reconstruction, Development and Expansion

BENJAMIN HARRISON
1889-1893

Sherman Silver Act, July 14, 1890: Required the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver each month, and the coinage each month of 2,000,000 ounces

McKinley Tariff Bill, October 1, 1890

CLEVELAND
1893-1897

Purchase Clause of Sherman Act Repealed, November 1, 1893: Amount of gold in treasury being small, government did not wish to continue purchase of silver

Wilson Tariff Bill, August 27, 1894

Venezuela Question, July-December, 1895: Protest against conduct of England in her relations with Venezuela

McKINLEY
1897-1901

Dingley Tariff Bill, July 24, 1897

War with Spain, 1898: War declared April 19, and treaty of peace signed at Paris, December 10

Hague Arbitration Tribunal: Called by the Czar of Russia; permanent court of arbitration since established

Gold Standard Act, March 14, 1900: The gold dollar made standard of all United States money

ROOSEVELT
1901-1909

Canal Treaty with England, November 18, 1901: United States permitted to construct canal but must be open to use of all nations

Venezuela Blockade, December, 1902: United States secured settlement by arbitration

Coal Strike in Pennsylvania, 1902-3: Through influence of President Roosevelt dispute submitted to court of arbitration; decision largely in favor of miners

Department of Commerce and Labor Established, February 14, 1903: Work done by this department before in charge of Interior Department

Canal Treaty with Panama, November 18, 1903: United States secured control of zone through which canal was to be built

Railroad Rate Law, June 29, 1906: Gave Interstate Commerce Commission authority to make investigations and prevent rebates and unfair charges



SUGGESTIONS FOR TEACHERS

WHY HISTORY IS TAUGHT

It is essential that those who teach history in the grammar grades understand clearly why it is taught. The only valid reason for using public money to maintain the public schools is to make good citizens. The public schools can do this by equipping pupils for economic success; by giving them a broad and sane view of life and its meaning; and by developing in them the ability and the desire to take an active and valuable part in government and public affairs generally. No subject is so valuable for this last purpose as history and government.

But it is important that school boards and superintendents and teachers have in mind clearly what constitutes the right kind of history work in the grammar grades. It is not valuable training for citizenship for the pupil to memorize the dates of history or the names of the administrations and the important events of each. The mind soon forgets such memorized facts, and if remembered they are valueless except as incidentals to the real study of history. Neither is it very valuable training for citizenship to have the history subject-matter in grammar grades consist of history stories and of the biographies of the nation's great men. History stories are excellent for the lower grades, and a good biography is always valuable, but in the higher grades they should be incidental to the real history work.

Only about five of every hundred pupils who enter the elementary schools ever go beyond the grammar grades. The history work in the grammar grades, therefore, should be that which will give the best possible training for citizenship for those whose schooling ends with these grades, and this of course will be the best kind of work for those who enter the higher grades. The destiny of the nation rests largely in the hands of the ninety-five who never enter the higher grades. The training of these for citizenship should not be vitally injured in order to satisfy the fancy of some educator who desires that the five be fed on the husks and incidentals of history so that they may secure a mythical-receptive attitude for the upper grades.

On these points Dr. Howard said: "History should cease to be a mere exercise in memory gymnastics, and become a genuine study of human life and experience. In the grammar school, as well as in the high school, history should be so presented that man is ever seen to be its real object."

If a pupil has made a careful study of political methods since Washington's administration, he will know how to deal intelligently with such questions as the Direct Primary System, the Initiative and Referendum and the Recall. If in connection with his history work he has made a careful study of government since colonial times, he will have a real appreciation of his duty toward representative government. If he has studied the changes in industrial conditions since colonial times, he will be better able to deal intelligently with railroad and other corporation legislation. This kind of history work constitutes the proper training for citizenship, and if it is not given in the grades only a few citizens will ever receive it.

SUGGESTIONS FOR TEACHERS

Note: Specific reference is made to the suggestions that follow by the use of arabic figures in the body of the text. These suggestions are deemed an important part of the text and it is hoped the teacher will study them carefully.

1. Have the pupil study the map, "The World as Known before the Time of Columbus," and maps in his geography until he has fixed clearly in mind the part of the earth the people of Europe knew about before the discovery of America. Have him draw a map of the world as known before Columbus discovered America. Tell him briefly about the travels of Marco Polo; also tell him something about the superstitions and beliefs that many people had about the unknown part of the earth.

2. If the pupil while in the lower grades did not read some of the interesting "Stories of Greece" and "Stories of Rome," he should now be given this pleasure. Several of these stories have been prepared especially for the intermediate and grammar grades. Because of their value and cheapness they are in most school libraries. At this point in the work the teacher can with

much profit to her pupils devote several recitations to talking and reading about the ancient world. In connection with the study of United States history in the grammar grades, it is important that the pupil be conscious of the historical past, and from time to time, therefore, it will be valuable to interest him in certain parts of both ancient and modern history. Those parts of European history that touch our history directly should, of course, be given special attention.

3. There is an excellent opportunity in connection with the increasing importance of commerce during the fifteenth century, and the need of new trade routes between Europe and Asia, to interest the pupil in the history of those times. It may be well for the teacher to devote one or two recitation periods to talking with her pupils about the habits and customs of the people engaged in this commerce. Ample material for such talks will be found in any good history of Europe. Have the pupil draw a map illustrating the trade routes.

4. At least one recitation should here be devoted to the poem on page 2. The teacher should explain this poem very fully, in the hope that the pupil will catch something of the spirit and courage of Columbus.

5. From the standpoint of both time and sound pedagogy, no more space in a grammar-grade history should be devoted to the stories of the discovery and exploration of America than is required to restate them briefly for purposes of review. Before they begin the study of this book, most pupils will have read the story of Columbus and stories of the other more important discoverers and explorers of the new world. If any pupil in the class has not read these stories, they should be assigned for his reading, and he should be required to read them immediately. These stories have been well written by a number of authors and in a style and language specially suited to pupils of the fourth, fifth and sixth grades. They are not expensive and should be in every school library. They are well though rather briefly told in some of the primary histories.

6. Get the pupils interested in a discussion of the merits of the "right of discovery," as here used.

7. This is another excellent opportunity to impress upon the pupil the close relation between European and American History.

8. Most pupils will have read many Indian stories, some fact and some fiction. Pupils should here receive some general information about the Indian so as to understand better his relations with the colonists.

9. No attempt is here made to narrate many of the incidents that happened in connection with the early settlements of the English colonies, because the pupil's interest requires that the space devoted to the Colonies in a grammar-grade history be devoted to those phases of Colonial history that had a direct and important bearing on the further growth of the nation. But it is important that the pupil read and become interested in the stirring and dramatic incidents of our early history, and most pupils will have done this before they begin the study of this text. If the pupil has not read such colonial stories as the story of Captain John Smith, the story of Franklin, the story of Washington, and similar stories, he should now be required to read them. These stories have been published separately especially for pupils of the fourth, fifth and sixth grades, and they are presented very well in some of the primary histories.

10. The government of a colony is treated as a part of its history, and the same method is followed after the colonies became States. From simple discussions the pupil makes, gradually, a broader and broader study of the historical development of government, of governmental machinery, and of political methods.

11. The pupils should understand clearly that the royal governors represented the king, not the colonists. When studying Connecticut and Rhode Island, contrast the harmony existing between their elected governors and the legislature with the lack of harmony existing between the royal governors and the legislature.

12. Lead the pupil to see the relation between the Puritan faith and the New England town and town meeting.

13. Explain to the pupil this union of church and state, and how it affected the political rights of non-church members.

14. Have the pupil understand the importance of this fact.

15. Much credit is due the Quakers for establishing religious liberty. In 1789 Congress recommended the religious policy of Pennsylvania for adoption by all the states.

16. Have the pupil compare government in Pennsylvania with government in the proprietary colony of Maryland.

17. The pupil should see clearly this difference in purpose of settlement, because it will help him understand why the English colonies were more populous than those of France.

18. This subject deserves the careful consideration of both teacher and pupil, because it was an important factor in the struggle between France and England in North America.

19. If time will permit, talk or read to the class about this war in Europe. Any good high-school text on European history contains ample material.

20. The pupil should see clearly that the lack of a strong central government in the colonies was a source of weakness both during this war and the Revolution.

21. Tell the pupils about William Pitt, for much of his work is a part of American history. Reference might here be made to his defense of the Americans during the Revolution.

22. While he is studying this subject, the pupil should be led to see that the real cause of the Revolution was the attempt of the king and his ministers to take from Englishmen in America the rights enjoyed by Englishmen in England.

23. Explain to the pupil the difference between a general search warrant and a special search warrant and why the people were strongly opposed to the former.

24. Have the pupils discuss this point. It is a question in which pupils usually become very much interested.

25. The events leading to colonial union as represented in the Continental Congress should receive careful consideration.

26. This battle is discussed rather fully in the hope that the pupil may feel the spirit of the Revolution.

27. As many people have an incorrect idea about the desire for independence at the beginning of the Revolution, it may be well for the teacher to give this question special attention.

28. In most cases the campaigns of a war are planned definitely by those highest in authority. The first thing a pupil should learn when he begins the study of a war is the object and scope of the campaigns planned.

29. Greene's southern campaign is one of the most interesting and important of the war. The pupil should see how this campaign and Washington's plans ended the war at Yorktown.

[The next ten notes refer to the ninety pages not included in the "Brief Edition" of this history.]

30. Illustrate the five institutions by examples from the pupil's experience and environment until he has fixed clearly in mind the nature and scope of each.

31. Correlate the work on the effect of topography, climate and soil with the pupil's geography work on these same questions.

32. This subject should receive special attention in city schools because most city pupils are not familiar with the industrial conditions discussed.

33. Discuss with the pupil the difference between the status or condition of law, medicine and the ministry in the colonies and at the present time.

34. This topic is important and to the pupil it should be one of the most interesting in his history work. The study of social conditions is a study of the real life of the people.

35. Lead the pupil to see that laws and constitutions embody the experience of society, and that the success and improvement of government depend on the efforts of the individual citizen.

36. The personal and denominational views of the teacher and pupil should be rigidly excluded from the historical study of this subject.

37. From the study of this subject the pupil should come to feel that it is his duty to work for the best interests of our educational system.

38. Too many pupils leave the grammar grades with the idea that everything good in government originated in the United States. The pupil should be led to see that our ancestors developed in England the essential principles of our government.

39. The pupil should have fixed clearly in mind the nature and value of these five great principles of English and American liberty. The attempt to deprive Englishmen in America of these principles was the fundamental cause of the Revolution.

40. As this is one of the most critical periods of American history, it should receive the careful attention of both teacher and pupil.

41. This ordinance should receive special attention. Its main features were followed in the organization of nearly all the territory afterward secured by the United States. It was also the first national legislation on slavery.

42. The pupil should be able to explain the importance of the events that led to this convention.

43. Lead the pupil to see what this work meant to the future of the nation.

44. Supplement the material in the text with the Constitution itself. Devote ample time to this subject. While the pupil should not be required to memorize the details, he should have fixed firmly in mind the more important powers and duties of each department of the national government.

45. Get the pupil interested in this topic and refer him to additional material if it is available.

46. Have pupils read the twelfth amendment to the Constitution, in order that they may understand the change in the manner of electing the president and vice president.

47. Discuss this topic with the pupils until they understand why this division is made.

48. This topic should receive special attention for it is one of the most important in the nation's history.

49. Another excellent opportunity to get the pupil interested in European history.

50. This principle and the events leading to its enunciation by Washington deserve the most careful consideration.

51. Pupils should become interested in a discussion of these acts. This was the only serious attempt of the national government to interfere with freedom of speech and liberty of the press. Discuss with the class the importance of these principles.

52. The teacher should explain to the class the doctrine set forth in these Virginia and Kentucky resolutions. It is important that pupils understand this question clearly, because the doctrines of Nullification and States' rights were vital issues to the nation until settled by the Civil War.

53. Have the pupil note carefully the boundaries of this territory. At the beginning of the war with Mexico, the United States claimed that originally the southern boundary of this territory extended as far south as the Rio Grande and that therefore that river was the southern boundary of Texas.

54. Call attention to how the treaty for the purchase of Florida changed the boundary of the Louisiana purchase.

55. Explain how this doctrine is the natural result of American neutrality in European affairs.

56. National finances are discussed in four places in this book, but the discussion is continuous in nature and the pupil should receive a clear idea of the subject as a whole.

57. Pupils should become interested in a discussion of this subject. Induce them to talk with their parents about it.

58. In studying political parties and political methods, the pupil should come to feel his personal responsibility as a part of the government.

59. It is customary to give this topic much less attention in the grammar grades than it should receive.

60. Have the pupil note especially how the westward growth of the nation is related to the growth of democratic ideas and the slavery question.

61. Special effort should be made to interest the pupil in the real life of the people.

62. Have the pupil understand clearly the real meaning of Jackson's election, especially with regard to democratic ideas.

63. As the efficiency of government depends largely on political methods, this subject deserves special attention.

64. Many grammar-school graduates are unacquainted with these changes in political methods.

65. This debate had a profound effect on the nation. Discuss it with the pupils, and create in them a desire to read it.

66. The pupil should understand the relation between the destruction of the United States Bank and the establishment of the Independent Sub-Treasury System. Discuss value of latter.

67. The pupil should understand how the migration of the people westward in parallel lines was related to slavery.

68. In studying this question the teacher and pupil should endeavor to dismiss all personal feeling regarding it.

69. A knowledge of this subject is necessary to an understanding of the changes in industrial conditions since 1825.

70. Few things have contributed more to human happiness than these inventions, and the pupil should see why this is true.

71. Have the pupil explain why cities grew more rapidly in the North than in the South.

72. Review briefly the discussion on this topic under "National Growth and European Interference."

73. Teacher and pupil should dismiss personal views on this question and discuss it from the strictly historical view point.

74. Special mention of the work of local leaders belongs to a state history. This phase of history is often over emphasized.

75. Contrast the battleships of to-day with those of the Civil War period. There is a contest among some of the nations in the building of battleships, both as to size and number. Discuss with pupils the probable result of this contest.

76. Get the pupils thoroughly interested in this topic, and lead them to feel their individual responsibility as a part of the government.

77. As this is one of the most important questions before the American people, it deserves careful consideration.

78. The pupil should be led to see the desirability of settling domestic and foreign questions by arbitration. This is an excellent opportunity to get the pupil interested in one of the most important questions before the nations.

79. Have the pupils discuss the prospective value of this canal in regard to commerce and national defense.

80. After completing the study of the material here given on this topic, devote several recitations to discussing the changes that have taken place in the five institutions since colonial times.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress, July 4, 1776,

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing

importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislature, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in

General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK

New Hampshire—JOSIAH BARTLETT, WM. WHIPPLE, MATTHEW THORNTON.

Massachusetts Bay—SML. ADAMS, JOHN ADAMS, ROBT. TREAT PAINE, ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Rhode Island—STEP. HOPKINS, WILLIAM ELLERY.

Connecticut—ROGER SHERMAN, SAM'EL HUNTINGTON, WM. WILLIAMS, OLIVER WOLCOTT.

New York—WM. FLOYD, PHIL. LIVINGSTON, FRANS. LEWIS, LEWIS MORRIS.

New Jersey—RICHD. STOCKTON, JNO. WITHERSPOON, FRAS. HOPKINSON, JOHN HART, ABRA. CLARK.

Pennsylvania—ROBT. MORRIS, BENJAMIN RUSH, BENJA. FRANKLIN, JOHN MORTON, GEO. CLYMER, JAS. SMITH, GEO. TAYLOR, JAMES WILSON, GEO. ROSS.

Delaware—CAESAR RODNEY, GEO. READ, THO. M'KEAN.

Maryland—SAMUEL CHASE, WM. PACA, THOS. STONE, CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton.

Virginia—GEORGE WYTHE, RICHARD HENRY LEE, TH. JEFFERSON, BENJA. HARRISON, THOS. NELSON, jr., FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE, CARTER BRAXTON.

North Carolina—WM. HOOPER, JOSEPH HEWES, JOHN PENN.

South Carolina—EDWARD RUTLEDGE, THOS. HEYWARD, JUNR., THOMAS LYNCH, JUNR., ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

Georgia—BUTTON GWINNETT, LYMAN HALL, GEO. WALTON.¹

¹ This arrangement of the names is made for convenience. The states are not mentioned in the original.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA*

WE THE PEOPLE of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

SECTION 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective members, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

* Reprinted from the text issued by the State Department.

SECTION 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States; but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

SECTION 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

SECTION 5. Each house shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Sessions of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

SECTION 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House

of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

SECTION 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States.

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Consti-

tution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

SECTION 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another; nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States; And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

SECTION 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws; and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

SECTION 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period

for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

SECTION 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law; but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

SECTION 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall,

at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in Office.

SECTION 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to controversies between two or more states;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of different States;—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

SECTION 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

SECTION 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be

delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

SECTION 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

THE AMENDMENTS

I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

II

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

III

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any Criminal Case to be witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining Witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

IX

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

XI

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

XII

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons

voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President, shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person having a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

XIII

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

XIV

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis or representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

IV

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

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